AN ORDINANCE OF THE Lords and Commons Assembled in PARLIAMENT,

For Raiſing of Fourſcore thouſand pounds by A WEEKLY ASSESSMENT through the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, for the preſent relief of the Britiſh Army IN *IRELAND*.

And to continue for the ſpace of Twelve moneths, from the firſt day of September, 1644.

ORdered by the Commons in Parliament, That this Ordinance be forthwith printed & publiſhed.

H. Elſynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London: Printed for *Edw. Husbands. October* 23. 1644.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

October 16. 1644.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for an Assessment through the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, for the present relief of the British Army in IRELAND.

THE Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, having formerly (after great sums of Money had been raised by severall Acts of Parliament) resorted to the Charity and Benevolence of Well-affected persons, for the supply and relief of the distressed Protestants in *Ireland*, and the Armies which have been sent hence, and raised there, for their Defence against the bloody Rebells of that Kingdom, though the same hath not taken that effect which was intended, by reason of the slack prosecution of the War in some Provinces, and the Cessation of Arms submitted unto by some of the Forces in the other Provinces:) Yet now finding that those Forces, in some of the Provinces, who have hitherto opposed the Cessation, and some others who did submit thereunto, are now resolved, and have declared themselves to proceed in a more vigorous prosecution of the War, so as they may be supplyed from this Kingdom with a necessary subsistence, Have thought fit, for a convenient and certain provision to support the British Forces, of Horse and Foot, raised in the Provinces, of *Ulster*, *Munster* and *Conaught*, in such a way as may procure credit for the same, To Ordain, and be it Ordained, That for the intents and purposes aforesaid, the severall weekly sums of Money hereafter in this Ordinance mentioned, shall be Charged, Rated, Taxed and Leavyed upon all and every the severall Counties, Cities, Towns, Liberties, places and persons hereafter mentioned, according to the proportions, rates and distributions in this present Ordinance expressed, the same to be paid in weekly to

the ſeverall Collectors to be appointed for the receiving thereof, and ſo to continue for the ſpace of Twelve Moneths, from the firſt day of September, 1644. That is to ſay,

VPon the City of *London* and Pariſhes aforeſaid, the weekly ſum of three hundred pounds.

Vpon the County of *Middleſex* and City and Liberties of *Weſtminſter*, the weekly ſum of one hundred and twenty five pounds.

Vpon the County of *Kent*, with the Cities there, the weekly ſum of two hundred and eight pounds, ſix ſhillings and eight pence.

Vpon the County of *Eſſex*, the weekly ſum of one hundred eighty ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings.

Vpon the County of *Surrey*, with the Burrough of *Southwark*, the weekly ſum of eighty three pounds, ſix ſhillings and eight pence.

The County of *Suſſex*, the weekly ſum of one hundred and four pounds, three ſhillings and four pence.

The County of *Hertford*, the weekly ſum of ſixty five pounds.

The County of *Cambridge*, the weekly ſum of ſixty two pounds, and ten ſhillings.

The Iſle of *Ely*, the weekly ſum of twenty ſix pounds, eleven ſhillings and eight pence.

The County of *Suffolk*, the weekly ſum of two hundred and eight pounds, ſix ſhillings and eight pence.

The County of *Norfolk*, with the City of *Norwich*, the weekly ſum of two hundred and eight pounds, ſix ſhillings and eight pence.

The County of *Huntington*, the weekly ſum of thirty ſix pounds, thirteen ſhillings and four pence.

The County of *Buckingham*, the weekly ſumme of ſeventy pounds.

The County of *Bedford*, the weekly ſum of forty one pounds, thirteen ſhillings and four pence.

The County of *Lincoln*, with the City of *Lincoln*, the weekly ſum one hundred and thirty five pounds, eight ſhillings and four pence.

The County of *Rutland*, the weekly ſum of ten pounds, eight ſhillings and four pence.

The County of *Nottingham*, and Town of *Nottingham*, the weekly ſum of thirty one pounds and five ſhillings.

The

The County of *Berks*, the weekly ſum of ninetie one pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence.

The County of *Cheſter*, the weekly ſum of twenty nine pounds three ſhillings and four pence.

The County of the City of *Cheſter*, the weekly ſum of ten pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence.

The County of *Cornwall*, the weekly ſum of one hundred and four pounds three ſhillings and four pence.

The County of *Derby*, the weekly ſum of twenty nine pounds three ſhillings and four pence.

The County of *Devon*, the weekly ſum of three hundred pounds.

The County of the City of *Exon*, the weekly ſum of eight pounds eight ſhillings and four pence.

The County of *Dorſet*, the weekly ſum of ſeventy two pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence.

The Town and County of *Pool*, the weekly ſum of ſixteen ſhillings and eight pence.

The County of *York*, the weekly ſum of one hundred ſeventy ſeven pounds one ſhilling and eight pence.

The County of the City of *York*, the weekly ſum of ten pounds eight ſhillings and four pence.

The Town and County of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, the weekly ſum of four pounds and five ſhillings.

The County of *Glouceſter*, the weekly ſum of one hundred and twenty five pounds.

The County of the City of *Glouceſter*, the weekly ſum of ten pounds eight ſhillings and four pence.

Hampſhire, with the City of *Winchcſter*, *Southampton*, and the Ile of *Wight*, the weekly ſum of one hundred twenty and five pounds.

The County of *Hereford* and City, the weekly ſum of ſeventy two pounds eighteen ſhillings and four pence.

The County Palatine of *Lancaſter*, the weekly ſum of eighty three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence.

The County of *Leiceſter*, the weekly ſum of thirty one pounds and five ſhillings.

The County of *Monmouth*, the weekly ſum of ten pounds eight ſhillings and four pence.

The

The County of *Northampton*, the weekly sum of seventy pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence.

The County of *Oxford*, the weekly sum of sixty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence.

The County of *Salop*, the weekly sum of sixty two pounds and ten shillings.

The County of *Stafford*, the weekly sum of thirty five pounds eight shillings and four pence.

The County of the City of *Litchfield*, the weekly sum of sixteen shillings and eight pence.

The County of *Sommerset*, the weekly sum of one hundred seventy and five pounds.

The City of *Bristoll*, the weekly sum of nine pounds five shillings and ten pence.

The County of *Warwick*, the weekly sum of ninetie three pounds and fifteen shillings.

The County and Citie of *Coventry*, the weekly sum of six pounds and five shillings.

The County of *Worcester*, the weekly sum of ninety one pounds thirteen shillings and four pence.

The City and County of *Worcester*, the weekly sum of two pounds fifteen shillings and six pence.

The County of *Wilts*, the weekly sum of one hundred and twenty pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence.

Cumberland, the weekly sum of six pounds and five shillings.

Durham, the weekly sum of ten pounds eight shillings and four pence.

Westmerland, the weekly sum of four pounds ten shillings and ten pence.

Newcastle upon Tine, the weekly sum of four pounds three shillings and four pence.

Northumberland, the weekly sum of eight pounds six shillings and eight pence.

WALES.

Anglesey, the weekly sum of four pounds three shillings and four pence.

Brecknock, the weekly sum of eight pounds eight shillings and four pence.

Car-

Cardigan, the weekly sum of ten pounds eight shillings and four pence.

Carmarthen, the weekly sum of eight pounds six shillings and eight pence.

Carnarvon, the weekly sum of five pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence.

Denbigh, the weekly sum of four pounds three shillings and four pence.

Flintshire, the weekly sum of two pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence.

Glamorgan, the weekly sum of eleven pounds and five shillings.

Merioneth, the weekly sum of two pounds one shilling and eight pence.

Montgomery, the weekly sum of ten pounds eight shillings and four pence.

Radnor, the weekly sum of six pounds and five shillings.

Haverford West, the weekly sum of sixteen shillings and eight pence.

And be it further Ordained, That as well every person of the Estate of a Baron or Baroness, and every Estate above, and all and every other person and persons born within this Realm of *England*, *Wales*, or other the Kings Dominions, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall; and every Fraternity, Guild, Corporation, Mystery, Brotherhood, and Communalty Corporate, or not Corporate; as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall, within the Realm of *England*, *Wales*, or other the Kings Dominions, for the value of every pound, which every such person, Fraternity, Guild, Corporation, Mystery, Brotherhood, and Communalty Corporate, or not Corporate, hath of his or their own, or that any other hath to his or their use or uses, as well in Coyn, as in Plate, Stock of Merchandize, or any manner of Corn and Grain, Houshold-stuff, and of all other Goods, Moveables, as well within this Realm, as without; and of all such sum and sums of Money, as to him, or them is, are, or shall be owing, whereof he or they trust in their conscience to be payed, (except and out of the premisses deducted) such sums of Money, as he or they owe, and in his or their conscience, intend truly to pay; and except also the Apparell of every such persons, their wives and children, belonging to their own bodies (saving Jewels, Gold, Silver,

Silver, Stones, Pearl) ſhall pay towards the ſaid weekly ſum and ſums of Moneys ſo aſſeſſed as aforeſaid: And every Alien and Stranger, born out of the Kings Obeyſance, as well Denizens, as others, inhabiting within this Realm; and alſo every Popiſh Recuſant, convict or not convict, ſhall pay towards the ſums aforeſaid, a proportion double to thoſe of the like eſtates, being no Aliens or Recuſants; and that every perſon born within the Kings Obeyſance, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, and every *Corporation*, Fraternity, Guild, Myſtery, Brotherhood, and *Communalty*, *Corporate*, or not *Corporate*, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, for every Eſtate that every ſuch perſon or perſons, and every Corporation, Fraterternity, Guild, Myſtery, Brotherhood, and *Communalty*, *Corporate*, or not *Corporate*, or any other, to his or their uſe, in truſt, or otherwiſe hath in Fee ſimple, Fee tail, for term of life, term of yeers, by Execution, Wardſhip, or by copy of *Court*-Roll, of, and in any Honours, *Caſtles*, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Services, Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Annuities, Offices of Profits, Fees, *Corodies*, or other yeerly Profits or Hereditaments, as well within ancient Demeaſn, and other Places Priviledged, as elſewhere, ſhall pay to and towards the ſaid weekly ſums, his and their proportionable part, and proportion of ſuch ſum or ſums of Money, as are impoſed, charged, and ſet upon each ſeverall *County*, according as the ſame ſhall be divided, diſtributed, taxed, or ſet, upon each ſeverall Town, Hamlet, Pariſh, or place where ſuch perſon or perſons is or ſhall be chargeable by this Ordinance, and the true intent and meaning thereof. Provided alwayes, That this Ordinance, nor any thing therein contained, extend not to charge the *Univerſitie* of *Cambridge*, nor any of the *Colledges* within the ſaid *Univerſitie*, for and in regard of any Lands, Goods, or Revenues, belonging to the ſaid Univerſitie, or *Colledges*, or any of them; nor to charge any Maſter, Fellow, or Scholler, of any the ſaid *Colledges*, or any Reader, Officer or Miniſter of the ſaid Univerſitie or Colledges, or any of them, for, and in regard of any ſtipend, wages, or profit whatſoever, ariſing or growing due to them or any of them, in reſpect of their ſaid ſeverall places and imployments in the ſaid Univerſitie; Any thing in this Ordinance to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding; and except the yeerly wages due to ſervants for their yeerly ſervice. Provided alwayes, and be it Ordained by theſe preſents, That it ſhall and may be lawfull for all perſons who are to

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be taxed or aſſeſſed, by virtue of this Ordinance, to pay the ſum or ſums to be charged on them, partly in Money, and partly in Proviſions, *viz.* Good ſound Wheat, Rye, Barley, Peaſe, and Oatemeal, Groats, merchantable, and fit to be tranſported into *Ireland*, to be delivered at the Rates and Prizes reſpectively, as they were ſold by the Buſhell the laſt Market day before. Provided, That one Moity at leaſt of their Aſſeſſements, be payed in ready Money; and that the ſaid Proviſions in all ſuch Counties, as lie on the Sea-Coaſt, or on any Navigable River, ſhall be brought to ſuch Town or Harbour in thoſe Counties reſpectively, as by the Committee or Commiſſioners of thoſe Counties ſhall be appointed, where they may be with moſt conveniency Shipt away for *Ireland*; and that in other Counties where the ſaid Proviſions cannot be brought with conveniency to be Shipped, the ſame ſhall be ſold for ready Money by the Committee of that County, and the Money according to the Rates of the Aſſeſſement forthwith tranſmitted to the Treaſurers: And in regard, That if the Proviſions of Corn aforeſaid, ſhould be payed at ſeverall times, as the Moneys are payable, a convenient quantitie of each ſeverall ſort of Corn could not be had together, to be Shipt away ſo ſeaſonably as the neceſſity of the occaſion might require,

Be it therefore Ordained, That every ſuch perſon or perſons, as ſhall make election to deliver in Corn, as aforeſaid, in part of their Aſſeſſement, do bring in and deliver the ſame in manner aforeſaid with all convenient ſpeed, and at the furtheſt, within the firſt three moneths next enſuing the date hereof: And the firſt payment of the ſaid weekly ſums ſo aſſeſſed by this Ordinance, ſhall be made, as from and after the firſt day of *September*, 1644. and the ſaid weekly payments ſhall continue for the ſpace of one whole yeer next enſuing, from the ſaid firſt day of *September*, 1644. And it is recommended to the Committee & Commiſſioners of the ſeverall Counties, to order this buſineſſe, wherein not onely the good of this Kingdom, but the ſafety of that Kingdom is ſo much concerned for the beſt of the ſervice, and for the better expediting of the ſaid ſervice.

Be it farther Ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, That the perſons hereafter named, ſhall be the Committees of the ſeverall and reſpective Counties and places hereafter mentioned.

For the County of Middlesex.

Middlesex. Sir Henry Vane, *Senior*, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, *Baronet*, Sir Edward Barkham, *Baronet*, Sir Thomas Fowler, *Knight and Baronet*, Sir Richard Sprignell *Baronet*, Sir John Davers, Sir John Franklyn, Sir James Barrington, Sir William Roberts, Sir John Hippesley, *Knights*; Laurence Whitacre, John Huckesley, Thomas Wilcocks, John Maurice, Richard Dounton, John Brown, *Clericus Parliamentorum*, Justinian Paget, Thomas Swallow, *Esquires*.

For the Liberty of Westminster.

Liberty of *Westminster.* Sir Robert Pye, Sir William Ashton, *Knights*, John Glyn *Esquire*, *Recorder of the Cities of* London *and* Westminster; William Wheeler, John Trenchard, *Esquires*; William Bell, John Brigham, Anthony Withers, William Barns, Edward Martin, John Packer, *and* Robert Packer, *Gentlemen*.

For the County of Essex.

Essex. Sir John Barrington *Knight and Baronet*, Sir Harbottle Grimston *Knight and Baronet*, Sir William Hicks, Sir William Massam, Sir Richard Everard *Baronet*, Sir Martin Lumley, *Knight and Baronet*, Sir Thomas Cheek, Sir Henry Mildmay *of* Wanstead, Sir William Roe, Sir Henry Holcroft, Sir Thomas Honywood, Sir William Martin *Knight*; Harbottle Grimston, John Say, William Massam, Timothy Middleton, Henry Mildmay *of* Anthony Luther, John Wright, Oliver Raymond, Robert Smith, Thomas Cook, Dean Tindal, Henry Farre, Cary Herrey, Mildmay, James Cambell, Richard Harlackenden, Robert Wiseman *of* Mayland, Robert Bourn, Robert Iessey, John Iosclyn, George Walton, John Langley, John Mead, John Eden, Thomas Clapton, Arthur Barnardiston, Isaac Allen *of* Haseley, William Goldingham, William Atwood, John Atwood, Peter Whittcombe, John Brook, Henry Wiseman, John Eldred, Robert Young, Richard Hawkin, Francis Stonard, John Watkins, Edward Berkhead, Thomas Talcoat, John Shaw, George Thorogood, *Esquires*; Richard Wiseman, Thomas Cook, John Sorrell, Francis Nicholson, Robert Talcoat, Robert Maldston, William Turner *of* Wimbish, Ieremy Aylett, William Collard, Robert Crane, *Doctor* Read *of* Burhanger, Robert Colthrope, Thomas Adams *of* Thaxsted, John Allingstow, William Harlackenden, John Thorogood *of* Waddon, Isaac Wincall, Samuel Plague, Francis Williamson *of* Walden, John Fenning, *and* Thomas Aylett, *Gentlemen*.

For

For the Town of Colcheſter. *Colcheſter.*

The Mayor for the time being, Harbottle Grimſton *Eſquire*, John Joſelyn, Henry Barrington, Robert Buxton, John Langley, *and* William Cook, *Gentlemen.*

For the County of Suffolk. *Suffolk.*

Sir Edmund Bacon, *Sir* Nathaniel Barnardiſton *Knight*, *Sir* William Spring *Baronet*, *Sir* Roger North, *Sir* Thomas Barnardiſton *Knight*, William Heveningham, Robert Reynolds, Thomas Bacon *of* Friſton, Nicholas Bacon, Henry North, Robert Brewſter, Francis Bacon, Theophilus Vaughan *of* Beckleſſe, William Cage, Edmund Harvey, John Gourdon, *Eſquires*; John Baſſe *Gentleman*; *Sir* William Playters *Knight and Baronet*, *Sir* John Wentworth *Knight*, *Sir* Philip Parker *Knight*, Maurice Barrow, Nicholas Bacon, William Bloyſe, *Eſquires*; Francis Brewſter *Gentleman*; *ſir* Butts Bacon *Baronet*, *ſir* Robert Brook, *ſir* John Rowſe, *ſir* William Soam, *ſir* Edward Duke, *Knights*; Thomas Baker, Brampton Gourdon, Wiſeman Bokenham, Iſaac Appleton, Henry North *Junior*, *Eſquires*, Thomas Cole, Richard Pepis, Nathaniel Bacon *of* Ipſwich, Nicholas Rivete *of* Drinkſtone, *and* Gibſon Lucas, *Eſquires.*

For the Town of Ipſwich. *Ipſwich.*

For the Town of Ipſwich, *the Baſtiffs for the time being*, William Cage, Robert Duncon, Peter Fiſher.

For Bury Saint Edmunds. *Bury.*

The Aldermen of Saint Edmunds Bury, Samuel Moody, Thomas Chapman, Thomas Chaplin.

For the Town of Aldborough. *Aldborough.*

The Baſtiff of the Town of Aldborough *for the time being*, Thomas Johnſon *of* Aldborough, *Gentleman*; *For the County of* Norfolk, *ſir* Thomas Woodhouſe *Knight and Baronet*, *ſir* John Holland *Baronet*, *ſir* John Potts *Baronet*, *ſir* John Hobard *Knight and Baronet*, *ſir* Miles Hobard, *ſir* Thomas Hugeen, *Knights*; *ſir* William Paſton, *ſir* Robert le Grey, *Baronets*; John Cook, John Spellman, Philip Bedingfield, Samuel Smith, Miles Corbet, James Calthrop, Valentine Walton, Thomas Windham, Francis Jeremy, Robert Wood, Gregory Gawſell, John Haughton, Thomas Weld, Martin Sidley, Thomas Sotherton, William Heveningham, Robert Rich, *Eſquires*; *The Baſtiff of* Yarmouth; *The Mayor of* Linne, Thomas Toll *Eſquire*, *ſir* Richard Berney *Baronet*, *ſir* Iſaac Ashley, *ſir*

Thomas Gibbon, *Knights*; Thomas Ruſſell, Iohn Wallpoole, Robert Wilſon, Robert Ieremy, Iohn Guibon, Robert Shepheard, Iohn Reygnes, Tobias Frere, Samuel Parker, Thomas Iohnſon, *and* Robert Gower, *Gent.*

Norwich. *For the County and City of* Norwich,

Iohn Tooly *Major*, Samuel Smith *Recorder*, Eraſmus Earle, Steward, Iohn Thacker, Chriſtopher Barret, Thomas Baker, Richard Harman, Adrian, Parmenter, William Gaſtlin *Eſquires*, Henry Wats, Matthew Lindſey *Aldermen.*

Cambridge. *For the County of* Cambridge,

Sir Dudley North, *Sir* Iohn Cuts, *ſir* Thomas Martin, *Knights*; Thomas Symonds, Dudley Pope *Eſquires*, *ſir* Miles Sandis *Knight*, Francis Ruſſell, Oliver Cromwell, Thomas Ducket, William Fiſher, Iames Thompſon, Walter Clapton, Robert Caſtle, Thomas Bendiſh, Edward Clerk, Iohn Welbore, Robert Clerk, Michael Dalton *junior*, Thomas Parker, Iohn Hobard, George Clapthorne, Iohn Towers, Henry Butler, Edward Leeds, William Marſh *and* Hamberſton Marſh *Eſquires*, *Sir* Edward Partridge *Knight*, Iames Reynolds *Eſquire*, Kniephet Ruſſell *Eſquire*, Iohn Chymery *Gent.*

For the Town and Univerſity of Cambridge.

The Major *for the time being*, Talbot, Pepeis *Recorder*, Iohn Sherewood, Samuel Spalden, Thomas French, *and* Robert Robſon.

Hertford. *For the County of* Hertford,

Charles *Viſcount* Cranborne, Robert Cecil *Eſquire*, *ſir* Richard Lucy *Knight and Baronet*, *ſir* Iohn Gerrat *Baronet*, *ſir* Thomas Dacres, *ſir* William Litton, *ſir* Iohn Witterong *Knights*, Atkins *Serjeant at Law*, *ſir* Iohn Road *Baronet*, Richard Iennings, Edward Wingate, Ralph Freeman, William Lemman, Thomas Keightley, William Prieſtley, Iohn Hayden, Edmund Smith, *Eſquires*; Alexander Wild, Gabriel Barber, Richard Porter, Iohn Himberſton, Iohn Tooke, Thomas Tooke, *Captaine* Scrogges, Gravely Norton *Eſquires*, *and* Iohn King *Doctor in Phyſick.*

S. Albans. *For the Town of* St. Albans,

The Major *for the time being*, Iohn Robotham, Edward Wingate, Ralph Pemberton, *and* Richard Iennings, *Eſquires*; Iohn King *Doctor in Phyſick.*

Huntington. *For the County of* Huntington,

Onſlow Winch, Terrill Iocelin, Thomas Templar, Iohn Caſtle, Oliver Cromwell, Abraham Burwell, Edward Mountague, *Colonell* Iohn

Iohn Bonner, Iervas Fulwood, Robert Winter, William Drury, *Captaine* Walton.

For the County of Lincolne, *Lincolne.*

Sir Iohn Wray *Knight and Baronet*, *Sir* William Armine, *Sir* Iohn Brownlow, *Sir* William Brownlow, *Sir* William Brownlow, *Sir* Thomas Trallop *Baronets*, *Sir* Edward Aſhcough, *Sir* Hamond Witchcoat, *Sir* Chriſtopher Wray, *Sir* Anthony Irby *Knights*, Thomas Grantham, Thomas Hatcher, Iohn Broxholme, Mountague Cholmly, Iohn Archer, William Ellis, *Eſquires*; Edward Aſhcough, Maurice Cave, Thomas Cornwallis, Iohn Harrington, Thomas Coppledike, Francis Fines, Henry Maſſingberg, Iohn Diſney *ſenior*, Thomas Liſter, Mulleneux Diſney, Edward King, Edward Roceter, Thomas Savill, William Savill, Humfry Walcot, Iohn Harrington, Thomas Irby, Samuel Leigh, William Bury, Iohn Willesby, *Eſquires*; Edmund Tilſon, Samuel Cuſt, Chriſtopher Hudſon, Drainer Maſſinberd, Richard Bryan, Mr. Maſſingden, Mr. Wolley, Mr. William Hobſon, Mr. Hall *of* Kettlethorpe, Alexander Emerſon, Thomas Welcome, *Eſquires*; William Luddington, Edward Nelthorpe, Edmund Anderſon, Mr. Bowtall, Iohn Sheffield, Robert Cawdron, *Eſquires*; Edward Skipwith, Charles Empſon, Thomas Welby, *the* Major *of* Boſton *for the time being*, Iohn Wincocks, Mr. Thompſon, Wyat Parkins, Martin Iohnſon, Iohn Brown, Iohn Bernard, Nathaniel Iharrald *Gent. Captaine* Thomas Hall, Nehemiah Rawſon, *and* Mr. Hall *of* Kettlethorpe.

For the City of Lincolne, Mr. Marſhall, *the Major of Lincolne that now is*, Tho. Grantham, Iohn Brockſholme, *Eſquires*; Robert Morecraft, William Watſon, *and* Stephen Dawſon, *Aldermen.*

For the County of Darby, *Darby.*

Sir George Greatly *Knight and Baronet*, *Sir* Iohn Curſon *Knight and Baronet*, *Sir* Iohn Gell *Baronet*, *ſir* Iohn Coke *Knight*, *ſir* Samuel Sleigh *Knight*, Francis Munday, Thomas Gell, Randall Aſhenhurſt, Henry Wigfall, Robert Eyre, Iohn Wigley, Tho. Sanders. William Wolley, Nathaniel Hallowes, Robert Mellor, Luke Whittington.

For the County of Hampſhire, *and the Town and County of* Southampton, *Hampſhire.*

Sir William Lewis *Baronet*, *ſir* William Uvedall *Knight*, *ſir* Thomas Iervoiſe *Knight*, Robert Wallop, Richard Whitehead, Richard Norton, Iohn Dodington, Richard Iervoiſe, Iohn Liſle, Arthur

Arthur Hyde, Thomas Cleark, Iohn Button, Edward Hooper, Iohn Bulkely, Iohn Kemp, Richard Mayor, Iohn Hook, Iohn Saint Barbe, Arthur Bromefield, Edward Doddington, Iohn Feilder, Henry Campion, William Wither, Nicholas Love, Thomas Chandler, Iames Tut, Richard Moor, William Carrich, William Collins, Francis Rivett, Thomas Betteſworth *of* Chidden, Thomas Creſwell *of* Heckfield, Robert Knapton, Iohn Pitman, Thomas Evans, Thomas Hanbury, Henry Bromefield, *Eſquires*; Thomas Gale, Thomas Dowſe *of* Elden, Richard Love *of* Baſing, Iohn Iſley, Iohn Eliott, William Goor, Robert Hawood *of* Sutton, Alexander Wilſon, William Wouglett, Thomas Maſon *Mayor of* Southampton, *Alderman* Gallop, *Alderman* Exton, *Gentlemen.*

Town of *Southampton.*

For the Town and County of the Town of Southampton.

Henry Pitts *Mayor*, *Colonell* Richard Norton, *Eſquire*; Thomas Maſon, George Gallop, Edward Exton, Robert Wroth, *and* Henry Bracebridge, *Aldermen.*

Suſſex.

For the County of Suſſex.

Sir Thomas Pelham, *ſir* William Goring, *Baronets*, *ſir* Thomas Parker, *ſir* William Morley, *ſir* Thomas Eeſfield *of* Den, *ſir* Iohn Chapman, Anthony Stapeley, Iohn Baker, Herbert Morley, William Gray, Robert Goodwyn, Henry Shelley, Harbert Hay, William Hay, Iohn Busbridge, Harbert Boord, Harbert Springate, Peter Farenden, *Major* Challiner, Thomas Ieffery, Robert Spence, *Eſquires*; *Captain* Thomas Springate, *Captain* Thomas Collins, *Captain* Henry Charlton, *Captain* Simon Everden, William Cawley, Thomas Middleton, Hall Ravencroft, Iohn Downs, George Oglander, *Captain* Thomas Chaſe, Roger Gratwick, Peter Betteſworth *of* Fineing, Robert Aylwynne, Henry Pecks, *Captain* Chitty, Thomas Green *of* Marden, *Captain* Iames Temple, George Churcher, William Fillman, Robert Dike, Henry Nicholſon, Thomas Millet *of* Marden, Philip Germin *Serjeant at Law*, Nathaniel Scudly, Ralph Cooper, Ambroſe Traiton, *Eſquires.*

Surrey.

For the County of Surrey.

William *Lord* Mounſon, *ſir* Ambroſe Brown, *Baronet*, *ſir* Iohn Maynard, *Knight of the Bath*, *ſir* Richard Onſlow *Knight*, *ſir* Iohn Dingley, *ſir* Matthew Brend, *ſir* Robert Packhurſt, *ſir* Robert Wood, *ſir* Robert Gorges, *ſir* Iohn Evelin, *Knights*, Thomas Sandis, Nicholas Stroughton, George Farewell, Henry Tonſall, Thomas Smith, Arthur Onſlow, Robert Goodwyn, Robert Wood, Francis Drake,

Colonell

Colonell Samuel Iones, George Evelin *of* Wootton, Henry Weſton, Iohn Goodwyn, Iohn Farewell, Edmund Iordan, Thomas Lock, Lancelot Johnſon, *Eſquires*; Sackford Gunſton, Robert Ferry, Robert Purſe, Robert Meade, *Gentlemen*.

For the County of Kent, *Kent.*

Sir Edward Scot, *ſir* Iohn Honywood, *ſir* Peter Godfrey, *ſir* Henry Hayman, *ſir* William Man, *ſir* Iohn Routh, *ſir* Thomas Godfrey, *Knights*; Thomas Weſtrow, Robert Scot, Lambert Godfrey, *Captain* Brodnox, Richard Brown, *Eſquires*; *ſir* Edward Monings, *ſir* Edward Boyſe, *ſir* Richard Hardreſſe, *Knights*; Iohn Boyſe *of* Elmington, Iohn Boyſe *of* Wingham, *Eſquires*; *ſir* Timothy Thornehill, *ſir* Iames Oxenden, *Knights*; *Maſter* Monings *of* Dover *Senior*, Henry Oxenden *of* Dean, *ſir* Iohn Roberts, *ſir* Michael Levely, *Baronets*; *Captain* Kennick, *Captain* Plummer, *Eſquires*, *Maſter* Bix *Gentleman*, Thomas Scot, *Captain* Carlet, *Captain* Duke, Michael Bell, *Captain* Osburn, *Junior*, *Eſquires*; *ſir* John Rivers, *ſir* Iohn Sidley, *ſir* Henry Vane *Senior*, *ſir* Auguſtine Skinner, *ſir* Humphrey Tufton, *ſir* Nicholas Miller, *Knights*; Richard Lee *Eſquire*, *Maſter* Iames, *Maſter* Beal, *Maſter* Newman, *Maſter* George Hall, *Maſter* Broughton *of* Maidelton, *Gentlemen*, Thomas Sylliard, Thomas Blunt, *Eſquires*, *ſir* Anthony Welden, *ſir* Thomas Walſingham, *Knights*, *Maſter* Ralph Welden, *Maſter* Franklin, *Maſter* Twiſſleton, *Maſter* Iohn Baker, *Maſter* Boothby, *Gentlemen*.

For Canterbury, *Canterbury.*

The Mayor for the time being, *ſir* Edward Maſters, *ſir* William Man, *Knights*, *Captain* Iohn Nut, *Alderman* Maſterſon, Thomas Den *Eſq*; *Recorder*, Avery Savin *Alderman*.

For the County of Berks, *Berks.*

William Lenthall *Eſquire*, *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons*, *and Maſter of the Rolls*, *ſir* Francis Knollis *Knight*, *ſir* Francis Pile *Baronet*, *ſir* Robert Pye *Senior*, *ſir* Benjamin Rudyard, *Knights*, Richard VVhitehead, Edmund Dunch, Henry Martin, Peregrine Hobby, Tanfield Vachell, Daniel Blagrave, VVilliam Ball, Iohn Packer *Senior*, Robert Packer, *and* Cornelius Holland, *Eſquires*.

For the County of Buckingham, *Buckingham*

Thomas *Lord Viſcount* VVenman, *ſir* Peter Temple *Knight and Baronet*, Richard VVinwood, Fulktode VVhitlock, *Eſquires*, *ſir* VVilliam Andrews, *ſir* Richard Piggot, *and ſir* VVilliam Cobb, *Knights*,

Knights; Isaac Pennington, *Lieutenant of the Tower*, George Fleetwood *Esq*; *Sir* Richard Ingolsby *Knight*, Anthony Ratcliff, Thomas Lane, Thomas Fountain, Edward Woodward, Peter Dormer, Richard Sergeant, Henry Beak, Anthony Carpenter, Simond Mayn, Edmund West, Thomas White, Thomas Ayres, Thomas Scot, Iohn Potter, Thomas Lygoe, Iohn Lane, William Theed *of* Craston, William Wheeler, Iohn Doyle, *Esquires*; *Sir* Gilbert Gerrard *Baronet*, Chrystopher Henne, Thomas Wyan, *and* Iohn Barringer, *Gentlemen*.

For the County of Oxon,

Oxon. Thomas *Lord Viscount* Wenman, William Lenthall, *Speaker of the House of Commons, and Master of the Rolls*, James Fines, John Fines, *Esquires*; *Sir* Peter Temple, *Knight and Baronet*, *Sir* William Cobb *Knight*, Iohn Doyly, Thomas Knight, William Tipping, Robert Scrope, Edward Clerk, Edmund Dunch, *and* Bulstrode Whitlock, *Esquires*, *Sir* Peter Wentworth *Knight of the Bath*, *Sir* Nathaniel Brent *Knight*.

For the County of Wilts,

Wilts. Philip *Lord* Herbert, Charls *Lord* Cramborn, Denzill Hollis *Esquire*, *Sir* Edward Hungerford *Knight of the Bath*, *Sir* Nevill Pool, *Sir* Edward Bainton, *Knights*, Edward Bainton, Alexander Popham, Walter Long, Edward Pool, Robert Jennour, Thomas Hodges, Richard Whitehead, Thomas Moor, Iohn Ash, Robert Nicholas, William Wheeler, Philip Smith, *and* Edward Ash, *Esquires*; *Sir* Iohn Davers *Knight*, Edmund Ludlow, *Senior*, Edmund Ludlow, *Iunior*, Alexander Thistlethwaite, William Sadler, Edward Goddard, Thomas Bennet *of* Norton, Robert Hippesley, *and* Edmund Warneford, *Esquires*, Iohn Goddard, Edward Martin, Gabriel Martin, Robert Long *of* Whaddon, Thomas Goddard, Edward Stokes, Richard Talboys, Richard Gifford, William Jesse, Humphrey Ditton, Thomas Baily, Robert Good, *and* Robert Brown, *Gentlemen*.

For the County of Worcester,

Worcester. *Sir* Walter Devereux *Knight and Baronet*, *Sir* Robert Harley *Knight of the Bath*, *Sir* Thomas Iervoyse, *Sir* Giles Overbury, *Sir* William Ashton, *Knights*, Iohn Wilde *and* Richard Cresheld, *Serjeants at Law*, Humphrey Salway, *Captain* Daniel Dobbins, Nicholas Lechmere, Edward Rowse, Samuel Knightly, Iohn Nash, Iohn Dormer, Thomas Milward, Thomas Cooks, George Wilde, Iohn

John Penrice, *Esquires*; *Colonell* John Fox, *Major* Richard Sallway *and Major* Edward Smith, *Captain* Charls Gheſt, *Captain* Samuel Gardner, Henry Hunt, Thomas Young, Edmund Young, John Giles *of* Aſley, John Fones, William Moor, William Collins.

For the County of Salop,

William Pierepoint *Eſquire*, *ſir* John Corbet *Knight and Baronet*, Thomas Mitton, Thomas Nichols, Walter Barker, Humphrey Mackworth, Robert Corber, Andrew Floyd *of* Aſton, Lancelot Lee, Thomas Hunt, John Corbet, *Eſquires*. *Salop.*

For the City of Liechfield, *Liechfield.*

The Bailiffs of the ſaid City for the time being, *the Sheriff of the City for the time being*; Michael Noble *Eſquire*, Richard Draſigate, Richard Baxter, Thomas Burns, *Gentlemen*.

For the County of Stafford, *Stafford.*

Sir Richard Skevington *Knight*, Richard Pigot, Michael Ridolph, Edward Manwaring, Matthew Morton, John Birch, Ralph Rudyard, Philip Rudyard, Michael Low, Michael Noble, Edward Leigh, *Eſquires*; *ſir* Walter Worteſley, *ſir* William Brereton, *Baronets*, *Colonell* Ridgley, Tho. Crumpton, *Eſquires*, *and Maſter* Bendy, *Gent.*

For the County of Warwick,

The new Mayor of the City of Coventry, *Sir* Peter Wentworth, *Knight of the Bath*, John Hales, Godfrey Boſwell, John Barker, William Purfrey, Anthony Stoughton, George Abbot, Thomas Boughton, Willaim Calemore, Thomas Baſenet, William Jeſſon, Gamaliell Purfrey, Thomas Willoughby, *Eſquires*. *Warwick.*

For the County and City of Coventry, *Coventry.*

John Barker, Iſaac Bromick, Robert Phips, *Eſquires*; *The Mayor for the time being*, John Hales *Eſquire*, Thomas Baſenet, Thomas Ware, Godfrey Leg, *Aldermen*.

For the County of Weſtmerland, *Weſtmerland*

Sir Henry Bellingham *Knight*, George Gilpin, Edward Wilſon, Nicholas Fiſher, Thomas Sleddall, Rowland Dawſon, Allan Bellingham, *Eſquires*; Roger Bateman, Richard Brainthaite, Robert Philipſon, Gervaſe Benſon, *Gentlemen*.

For the County of Bedford, *Bedford.*

Sir Beauchampe Saint John, *ſir* John Burgoin, *Baronets*, *ſir* Thomas Alſton, *ſir* Thomas Alston, *Knights and Baronets*, *ſir* Roger Burgoyn, *ſir* William Bruges, *ſir* Oliver Luke, *ſir* Samuel Luke, *Knights*, Thomas Rolfe, Thomas Rolt, Thomas Robart, Thomas Sadler, John Hervey, *Eſquires*; William Duncombe, James Beverley,

ley, Ralph Snagge, Francis Astrey, Lewis Monnox, Humphrey Monnox, Hampton Monnox, Peter Neal, Edward Osborn, Ralph Mallory, John Neal, John Vaux, Robert Stanton, John Wells, Richard Cockerine, Edward Catser, Samuel Brown, *Esquires*; Edmund Jones, Richard Edwards, Humphrey Fish, *Mayor of* Bedford *for the time being*, Francis Baneſtre, John Wells, John Sybley, Peter Neal, John Nods, John Smith.

Cheſter. *For the County of* Cheſter,

Sir George Booth *Knight and Baronet*, *ſir* William Breſeton *Baronet*, Thomas Stanley, Henry Manwaring, Henry Brook, John Bradſhaw, Robert Duckenfield, Henry Vernon, John Crew, William Marbury, *Eſquires*.

Cheſter City *For the City of* Cheſter,

William Launce, John Alderſon, Peter Leigh, William Edwards, *Merchants*.

Cumberland. *For the County of* Cumberland,

Sir Wibſrid Lawſon *Knight*, William Lawſon, William Briſcoe, Thomas Lamplough, Richard Barroys, John Barroys *Senior*, *Eſquires*.

Durham. *For the County of* Durham,

Henry Warmouth, George Lilbourn, Thomas Mitford, Robert Hutton, Thomas Shadforth, Clement Falthrop, Richard Lilbourn, Francis Wren, John Blackiſton, Henry Draper, John Brakenbury, *Eſquires*.

York. *For the Eaſt-Riding of the County of* York,

Ferdinando *Lord* Fairfax, *Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *ſir* William Strickland, *Baronets*, *ſir* Philip Stapleton, *ſir* Thomas Remmington, *Knights*; Richard Remmington, John Anataby, Richard Darley, Henry Darley, John Allured, *Eſquires*.

North-Riding. *For the North-Riding*,

Ferdinando *Lord* Fairfax, *Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *ſir* Thomas Norcliff, *ſir* Matthew Boynton, *Baronets*, *ſir* Wil: Sheffield, *ſir* Wil: Strickland, *Knights*; Brian Stapleton, Henry Darley, Henry Anderſon, John Waſtall, Chriſtopher Perchley, George Tweten, Matthew Smelt, John Legard *de* Malton, Francis Laſſels, Geoffery Gate, John Dent, Thomas Robinſon, Francis Boynton, Chriſtopher Watſon, Luke Robinſon, Chriſtopher Peircy Hay, *Eſquires*.

Weſt-Riding. *For the Weſt-Riding*,

Ferdinando *Lord* Fairfax, *Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *ſir* Thomas Mallorey,

verer, *Baronets*; *sir* Arthur Ingram, *sir* William Leister, *sir* Edward Rhodes, *sir* John Savill, *sir* Thomas Widdrington, *Knights*; Charls Fairfax, Henry Ardington, John Farrer, William White, Thomas Maleverer, George Marwood, John Robinson, Thomas Stockdale, Thomas Westbry, Merton West, John Bright, Thomas Bosevile, Godfrey Bosevile, *Esquires*, *sir* John Reresby *Knight*, Edward Brigs, *and* John Ellis, *Colonell* Bright, Thomas *Saint* Nicholas, *Esquires*.

For the City of York, *City of York.*

Ferdinando *Lord* Fairfax, *Alderman* Hoyl, *Lord Mayor of the City of* York, *Sir* Thomas Widdrington *Recorder*, *sir* Thomas Fairfax, *sir* William Allinson, *Knights*, James Hutchinson, Richard Hutton, *Esquires*; Stephen Watson, John Geldard, *Gentlemen*,

For the County of Dorset, *Dorset.*

Denzell Hollis *Esquire*, Walter Earl *Knight*, John Brown, Edmund Prideaux, Thomas Earl, Thomas Moor, John Trenchard, Denis Bond, William Whittaker, Roger Hill, Giles Green, Richard Rose, *Esquires*, *sir* Thomas Trenchard *Knight*, John Fitz James, *Junior*, Francis Chettle, Thomas Crompton, John Bruen *of* Ashwellhamston, Elias Bond, Bartholomew Hall, Thomas Ceeley, Robert Row, Henry Henley *and* John Hill, *Esquires*, *and* Richard Bury *Gentleman*.

For the Town and County of Pool, *Pool.*

John Bingam *Esquire*, *Governour*, George Skat *Senior*, Aaron Durell, Haviland Healey, William Skat *and* John Melmoth, *Gentlemen*.

For the County of Sommerset, *Sommerset.*

Sir Edward Hungerford *Knight of the Bath*, Alexander Popham, John Pyne, Hugh Rogers, John Ash, Roger Hill *of* Pounsford, *and* George Searl, *Esquires*; *sir* Thomas Wroth, *sir* John Horner, *sir* Robert Gorges, *Knights*; Edward Popham, Samuel Horner, Henry Rolls *Serjeant at Law*, William Strode, Clement Walker, James Ash, John Preston, Thomas Hodges, Henry Henley, William Long, Henry Bonner, Richard Hippisley, Jonathan Pits, Robert Paradine, Thomas Hippisley, Alexander Pym, William Pryn, Thomas English, William Caple, John Barnard, John Brickman, *and* Robert Blake, *Esquires*; John Palmer, Roger Hill *of Taunton*, Nicholas Sanders, Richard Tervilian, Lyslebone Long, Matthew Clift *of Bath*, Robert Morgan *of Wells*, *and* Christopher Pettard, *Gentlemen*, Edward Geety, Thomas Francis, *and* Henry Mynterne.

Briſtoll. *And for the City of* Briſtoll,

Richard Viccaris, Luke Hodges, Iohn Birch, Henry Gibs, James Powel, Edward Tyſon, *and* Robert Aldworth.

Devon. *And for the County of* Devon,

Sir John Bamfield *Baronet*; *ſir* Richard Strode, *ſir* Edmund Howell, *ſir* Shelſton Calmadey, *ſir* Henry Roſewell, *and ſir* Iohn Young *Knights*, Walter Young, Edmund Prideaux, Iohn Maynard, Iohn Harris *of* Haine, William Strode, Francis Rowſe, Iohn Waddon, Iohn Rolls, William Fry, Iohn Crocker, Robert Savery, Elias Grimes, Arthur Upton, Richard Gilbert, Iohn Lutterell, Iohn Mallack *of* Axmouth, Thomas Crew, Charles Vaughan, Iohn Bear, Thomas Bear, Henry Pollexfin, John Kelley *of* Kelley, Iohn Cacos, *Mayor of* Plimmouth, Iohn Barton *of* Silverton, Iohn Champneyes, Thomas Boon, Philip Harris, Ioſeph Hantkine, Iohn Marſhall, Philip Francis, Thomas Ceeley, Richard Evans, Timothy Alſop, Iuſtinian Peard Chriſtopher Ceeley.

Exon. *And for the City of* Exceſter,

Samuel Clark, Adam Bennet, Iohn Lovering, Richard Croſſing, *Junior*, *and* Richard Evans.

Cornwall. *For the County of* Cornwall,

Francis Buller, Richard Tryſey, Thomas Arundell, Francis Godolphin *of* Trevenege, Anthony Nicholl, George Buller, *and* Iohn Moyle *Junior*, Iohn Elliot, Iohn Saintaubyn, Iohn Treſuſes, Iohn Moyle, Iohn Carter, Nicholas Boſcawen, George Kekewich, Iohn Treſuſes *Junior*, Thomas Gewen, Richard Chiverton, Chriſtopher Worthivall, Anthony Rowſe, Nicholas Wadham, Henry Wills, Robert Bennet, Richard Carver, Edward Elliot, Iohn Martin, Richard Penwaren, William Ceeley, *and* Robert Martin.

Kingſton upon Hull. Thomas Raikeis *Major*, Peregrine Pellam, *Eſquires*, Lancelot Roper, Iohn Bernard, Nicholas Denham, William Pople, Henry Bernard.

Glouceſter. *For the Countie of* Glouceſter,

Thomas Stephens *High Sheriff*, *Sir* Giles Overbury *Knight*, Nathaniel Stephens, *ſir* John Horton *Knight*, Edward Stephens, Iohn Stephens, *Eſquires*; Richard Stephens, *ſir* Iohn Seymor, *Knight*, Silvanus Wood, Thomas Hodges, Samuel Codrington, Iohn Codrington, *Eſquires*; Iohn Fettiplace, William Lee, Thomas Eaſtcourt, William Window, Stephen Fowler, William Wilſon, William Parrey.

For

For the City of Glouceſter, *and the County of the City,* *City of Glouceſter.*
The Mayor for the time being, William Lenthall *Eſquire, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons,* Thomas Pury, William Singleton, John Nelm, Denis Wiſe, Nicholas Web, *and* John Dorney.

In the County of Lancaſter, *Lancaſter.*
Sir Ralph Aſhton, *ſir* Thomas Stanley, *Baronets,* Ralph Aſhton *of* Durnham, Ralph Aſhton *of* Middleton, Richard Shuttleworth, Alexander Rigby, John Mear, Richard Holland, Edward Butterworth, John Bradſhaw, William Aſhurſt, Peter Egerton, John Nowell, George Dodding, Nicholas Cunliff, John Starkey, Thomas Berch, and Thomas Fell, *Eſquires*; Robert Cunliff, Robert Curwin, *Gentlemen,* Thomas Chittarun *of* Nuthurſt.

For the County of Leiceſter, *Leiceſter.*
Thomas *Lord* Gray *of* Groby, *Sir* Arthur Haſlerigg *Baronet*, *ſir* Edward Hartop, *ſir* Thomas Hartop, *ſir* Martin Liſter, *Knights*; William Hewit, John Bambridge, Peter Temple, George Aſhby, Thomas Cotton, William Roberts, Francis Hacker, Richard Bent, Arthur Staveley, William Danvers, John Goodman.

For the Town of Leiceſter, *Leiceſter Town.*
The Mayor for the time being, Richard Ludham, William Stanley, *Aldermen,* Daniell Moreſine.

For the parts of Holland, *Holland.*
Sir Anthony Erby, William Ellis, John Harrington, *Eſquires.*

The Mayor of Boſton *for the time being,* Thomas Hall, Thomas Irby, Samuel Cuſt, Charls Eviſon, Thomas Welbey, John Willesbey. *Boſton.*

The Committees appointed for the weekly Aſſeſſement, for the Lord Generals Army by an Ordinance of the 20 *of* March, 1643. *London.*

In the County of Northampton, *Northampton.*
Sir Rowland Saint John *Knight of the Bath, ſir* John Norwich, *Knight, ſir* Gilbert Pickering *Baronet, ſir* Richard Sam *Knight,* John Crew, John Barnard, Edward Harvey, John Sawyer, Edw. Farmer, *high Sheriff,* John Norton, John Chappel, *Eſquires*; *ſir* John Draydon *Baronet,* Richard Knightly *Eſquire, ſir* Chriſtopher Yelverton *Knight and Baronet,* Zouch Tate, Philip Holeman, Eraſmus Dreydon, Thomas Pentlew, Robert Mildmay, Thomas Elms, John Norton, *and* John Claipoll, *Eſquires.* *The Town of Northampton.*

In the Town of Northampton, *the Mayor for the time being,* John Gifford, John Fiſher, *Aldermen.*

Henry Lawſon, John Blackiſton, Henry Warmouth, *Eſquires*; *Maſt.* Edward Man, *M.* Thomas Ledgerd. *The Town of Newcaſtle.*

Northumberland. *For the County of* Northumberland,

Sir John Fenwick *Baronet*, *sir* John Dolevall, *sir* Thomas Widdrington, *sir* William Selbey, *sir* Robert Collingwood, *Knights*, Thomas Middleton, William Shafto, Michael Welden, Henry Ogle, *Esquires*.

Barwick. *For the Town of* Barwick *upon* Tweed,

The Mayor for the time being, *Sir* Thomas Widdrington *Recorder*, John Sleigh, *sir* Robert Jackson *Knight*, Ralph Saltked *Esquire*.

Nottingham. *For the County of* Nottingham,

Francis Pierepoint *Esquire*, *Sir* Francis Thornehaugh *Knight*, Francis Thornehaugh, Joseph Widdmerpool, Robert Rayns, Gilbert Millington, John Hutchinson, *Esquires*; *sir* Francis Mollenrup, *Knight*, Charles White, Iervoyse Piggot, Henry Ireton, *Esquires*.

The Town of Nottingham. *For the County and Town of* Nottingham,

The Mayor for the time being, James Chadwick *Esquire*, Huntington Pluntree, John James, *Aldermen*, John Gregory *Gentleman*.

Rutland. *For the County of* Rutland,

Sir Edward Harrington *Knight*, Evers Armyn, Robert Horseman, John Osburn, Christopher Brown, Robert Horseman *Junior*, Thomas Waite, *Esquires*.

Which said severall Committees of the said severall and respective counties and places, or the greatest part of them, shall with all convenient speed after notice of this Ordinance given unto them, or any two of them, meet together within the severall counties and places respectively, where they are Committees, in some convenient place within the same counties or places, and may there agree to sever and divide themselves for the execution of the said service, unto such Hundreds, Places and Divisions within their respective counties and places, as to them shall seem meet and expedient. And afterwards the said Committees or any two of them respectively, shall direct their warrants to such number of persons as they shall think fit, within their severall and respective Divisions, to appeare before them or any two of them; and upon their appearance, the said respective Committees, or any two of them, shall nominate and appoint such persons as they shall think fit within their respective Divisions; Which said persons so nominated, or any two of them, shall have

have power to assesse any person or persons, Fraternity, Guild, Corporation, Mistery, Brotherhood and Communalty, corporate or not corporate, chargeable by this Ordinance, according to the Weekly rates and proportions in this Ordinance mentioned.

And the said respective Committees, or any two of them, shall have full power and authority within their severall and respective Limits and Divisions where they shall execute this Ordinance, to nominate Collectors for the money so assessed and rated as aforesaid, according to this Ordinance: which said Collectors shall collect the monies so assessed, and pay the same to the Treasurers appointed by this Ordinance, or at such place or places, and to such person or persons as the said respective Committees, or any two of them, shall appoint, to be then and there payed to the said Treasurers. And if any person or persons, Fraternity, Guild, Corporation, Mysterie, Brotherhood, or Communalty, corporate or not corporate, chargeable by this Ordinance, shall refuse to pay the sum or sums upon him or them assessed by vertue of this Ordinance; or shall not pay the same upon demand, at the place of his abode, or where such assessment shall be made; It shall and may be lawfull to and for the respective Collectors, or any two of them, to levy all and every such sum and sums so assessed, by way of distresse and sale of the goods of the person or persons so assessed, wherever the same shall be found, and in the presence of any two Justices of the Peace, to break any House, Chest, Trunk, Box, or other thing, where any such goods are. And if any person so distrained shall make resistance, it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said respective Collectors, or any of them, as they shall see cause, to call to their assistance any of the Trained Bands, or companies of Voluntiers or other Forces of or within the County or Counties, place or places where such resistance shall be made, or any other person or persons whatsoever dwelling in or neere the place: And the said Trained Bands, Voluntiers or Forces, and the severall Officers, Commanders and Souldiers of the same, or other the persons so to be called, are hereby required to be ayding and assisting to the said respective Collectors in the premisses, as they will answer the contrary thereof.

And be it also ordained, That every person to be rated and taxed as aforesaid, shall be rated and set, and the sum on him rated and set, to be levied in every County for the Estate he hath either in Lands Tenements or Heriditaments, Rents, Annuities, Fees, Offices, Goods, Cattels

Cattels or Chattels in that County only. And if he have any estate either in Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Rents, Annuities, Fees, Offices, Goods or Chattels, in severall places in one County; then to be rated in the said severall places in each severall County, according to such his said estate in the said severall places; and the sum on him set, to be there levied accordingly.

And be it further ordained, That all Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments of all and every person or persons whatsoever of what degree or quality soever, or in whose possession soever the same are, shall be rated, charged, and chargeable for and towards the raising and payment of the said Weekly sum or sums of money set and charged by this Ordinance, (yet nevertheless with this provision and limitation; That if the Land be let or set to or near the yearly value thereof, in the possession of any Tenant for life, lives, yeares, or at will; such person or persons to whom the Rent thereof belongeth, to be solely chargeable therewith: but if the same be let at any easie or small Rent or under-value, then the sum taxed to be apportioned between the party or parties to whom the Rent belongeth, and the Tenant or Occupier of the Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, as the Taxers shall think meet; And if they, or any of them, shall do any injury, the same to be rectified by the said Committees, or any two of them within their severall Limits or Divisions, according to their discretions: And if any such Tenant or Occupier of Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, shall, or may be charged with any sum of money contrary to the true intent and meaning of this Ordinance, That it shall and may be lawfull to, and for, such Tenant or Occupier, to stop and detain the same from, and out of his Rent, due for the same Land, or to take his lawfull remedy against such person or persons, to whom the said Rent is or shall be due, or belonging, who ought by the true meaning of this Ordinance to be charged therewith by action of debt; wherein no wager of Law, Protection, or Essoyn, shall be allowed. And in case, that any Lands or Hereditaments, in severall Counties, Hundreds, Parishes, or Places, shall be let or set, for, or charged without intire Rent or Rents, in each County, Hundred, Parish, or place, and according to the value of the Lands or Hereditaments, so let in every of the said Counties, Hundreds, Parishes, and Places; and for all manner of debts whatsoever, or sum or sums of Money due, or owing to any person or persons, by any person or persons within this Realm,

and

and alſo for any Debts, Goods, or ſums of Money remaining, or being beyond the Seas, out of His Majeſties Dominions, due, or belonging to any perſon or perſons, reſiding within *England* or *Wales*, the perſon or perſons to whom ſuch Debts ſhall be due, to be charged for the ſame in the place of his reſidence, or abode, at the time of the Taxation onely.

And be it Ordained, That no perſon having two Manſions or Places to reſort to, being or calling himſelf houſhold ſervant, or waiting ſervant to the Kings Majeſtie, or other Lord or Lady, Maſter or Miſtris, be excuſed from the Taxes of the ſaid Payments in any place or places, where he may be ſet or taxed: And if any perſon, That ought to be ſet and taxed to the ſaid payment, by his crime, or craft, happen to eſcape from the ſaid payments, to be not ſet and taxed, according to the true intent and meaning of this Ordinance; and that proved by preſentment, examination, information, or otherwiſe, before the ſaid Committees, or any two of them; then every ſuch perſon ſhall be charged upon the knowledge and proof thereof, and at the treble value of ſo much, as he ſhould, might, or ought to have been taxed at by virtue of this Ordinance, and the ſame to be levied, gathered, and payed of his Goods and Chattles, Lands and Tenements, towards the ſaid payment in ſuch manner, as is therein limited for others which refuſe to pay. And if no diſtreſſe be found of the Goods or other things of ſuch perſon or perſons, Bodies Corporate, or others chargeable by this Ordinance, as ſhall not pay their weekly Rates as aforeſaid; then the ſaid Collectors ſhall reſpectively have power to enquire of any ſum or ſums of Moneys due, or to be due to the perſons ſo aſſeſſed as aforeſaid, from any perſon or perſons for any Rents, Tithes, Goods, or Debts, or other thing, or cauſe whatſoever, and to compound for any of the ſaid Rents, Tithes, Goods, Debts, due to the perſon ſo aſſeſſed reſpectively as aforeſaid, with any perſon or perſons, by whom the ſaid Rents, Tithes, Goods, Debts, or other things due unto the ſaid perſons aſſeſſed reſpectively as aforeſaid; as alſo to give full diſcharge for the money by them ſo received upon compoſition or otherwiſe, which diſcharge ſhall be good and effectuall to all intents and purpoſes.

And for the better encouragement of the Collectors in this ſaid

 ſervice

ſervice, and for reward unto the Treaſurers, and ſuch as are to cheque the Receipts. It is Ordained, That three pence half peny in the pound, ſhall be allowed for every ſum of Money which ſhall be collected and payed to the ſaid Treaſurers or Receivers, according to this Ordinance, two pence whereof ſhall be allowed to the Collectors, a peny to the ſaid Treaſurers, and a half peny to ſuch as ſhall keep the cheque upon this accompt as aforeſaid: And to the end, that all the Moneys aſſeſſed may be duely collected, Be it Ordained, That the ſeverall and reſpective Aſſeſſors within the Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, ſhall within one week next after their reſpective Aſſeſſements made, return their ſaid ſeverall Aſſeſſements unto the reſpective Committees aforeſaid, for the reſpective Diviſions or Limits, where the ſaid Aſſeſſements ſhall be made; who or any two of them, are hereby required reſpectively, within ten dayes after their reſpective returns of ſuch ſeverall Aſſeſſements, to deliver a Copy thereof, ſubſcribed with their, or any two of their hands, to the ſeverall Collectors within their ſaid reſpective Diviſions or Limits; and alſo within the like ten dayes, to ſend up another Copy to the Treaſurers appointed by this Ordinance, to the end, the ſaid Treaſurers may thereby know what they are to receive of every Pariſh or place within this Realm, and *Wales*, and alſo one other Copy ſubſcribed as aforeſaid, to the Committee for the accompts of the Kingdom; And the ſaid ſeverall ſums ſhall be payed to the ſaid Treaſurers at *Grocers* Hall, who ſhall give an acquittance for the ſame, under their hand, or the hand of any two of them, which acquittance ſhall be brought to Maſter *Gabriel Beck* of *Lincolns* Inne, who is to enter the ſame in a Book, to be kept for that purpoſe; and then the ſaid acquittance ſhall be a ſufficient diſcharge to the Party that payed in the ſaid ſum, and not otherwiſe. And if any Aſſeſſor or Collector ſhall refuſe the ſaid ſervice, or prove negligent or faulty therein, the ſaid Committees for the Diviſions or Limits, where ſuch Aſſeſſor or Collector ſhall ſo refuſe, or be ſo negligent or faulty, or any two of them, ſhall have power to commit ſuch Aſſeſſor or Collector to priſon, or to ſet ſuch reaſonable Fine upon him, or them, as they ſhall think fit, not exceeding the ſum of twenty pounds upon the Aſſeſſor, or the ſum of five pounds upon the Collector, the ſame

to

to be levied by diſtreſſe and ſale of ſuch Offenders Goods, to the uſes herein mentioned, in ſuch ſort as is herein before appointed, for ſuch as refuſe to pay the Rates aſſeſſed upon him or them; and ſhall alſo certifie the ſaid offence to the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and ſhall have power to nominate other Aſſeſſors or Collectors. And if any perſon or perſons, ſo aſſeſſed and rated as aforeſaid, ſhall conceal, or convey away his or their Goods, ſo that no diſtreſſe can be taken, or that the ſaid ſum or ſums ſo aſſeſſed upon him, cannot be had or levied by any the wayes or means in this Ordinance mentioned; then the ſaid Collectors ſhall reſpectively certifie the ſame, in caſe he be a Peer of the Realm, unto the Lords in Parliament; and if he be under the degree of a Peer, to the Committee of the Houſe of Commons appointed for Examinations; who ſhall hereby have power to ſend for ſuch perſon and perſons, as Delinquents, and to commit him or them priſoners to ſuch place or places within this Kingdom, and for ſo long time as the ſaid Committee ſhall think fit.

And be it Ordained, That all and every the Aſſeſſors and Collectors aforeſaid, and all that ſhall aſſiſt them in the premiſſes, ſhall be protected by both Houſes of Parliament, from all damnage that may come to them, or any of them, by this ſervice; and ſhall farther receive ſuch allowances for their charge and obedience in the execution of this Ordinance, as upon Certificate from the ſeverall Committees before named, or any two of them, ſhall be thought fit by the Committee aforeſaid.

And be it further Ordained, That where no Committees are named in this Ordinance for any County, City, or Place, there ſuch other Committees as ſhall be appointed by both the ſaid Houſes of Parliament, or any two of ſuch Committees, ſhall, and may put this preſent Ordinance in execution, within any ſuch County or Place reſpectively, in ſuch manner and form, to all intents and purpoſes, as any the Committees named in this Ordinance, may according to the purport and true meaning thereof.

Provided alwayes, That no Peer of this Realm ſhall by virtue of this Ordinance be rated or taxed at any ſum or ſums of Money whatſoever, for any his Manſion houſe, or houſes with the appurtenances in any place whatſoever; but the Aſſeſſors within whoſe

charge such house or houses, with the appurtenances shall happen to be, shall certifie the same into the House of Peers, to the end, such Peers may be there rated for the same, according to this Ordinance.

And be it further Ordained, That Alderman *Kenrick*, Alderman *Foot*, Alderman *Bunce*, and Master *Samuel Avery* are, and shall be hereby appointed and authorized, to be the Treasurers, and to give their daily attendance by themselves, or their sufficient Deputy or Deputies at *Grocers* Hall, to receive all such moneys, as shall be there tendered and paid for the said weekly Assessments, according to this Ordinance; which said Treasurers so appointed to receive those moneys, shall enter into one, or more Books, to be kept for that purpose, the names of all such Collectors, Receivers, person or persons, as shall pay the same unto them, with the time when they are paid, and for what Parishes, Places, Divisions, and Counties, and shall give Receipts accordingly, under their hands, or the hands of any two of them, unto such Collectors, Receivers, person or persons, to the intent, those Receipts may be registred by the persons before-named for that purpose, and so be a sufficient discharge to the parties, that bring, and pay in those moneys: And the said Treasurers, shall from time to time, issue out those moneys in such manner, as the Committee of both Kingdoms, or such persons as shall be by them authorized, shall by their Order direct.

Provided alwayes, That no part of the money which shall be levied and paid in by virtue of, or according to this Ordinance, shall be imployed to any other purpose, but onely for providing, and sending of present supplies for the said Forces, and carrying on of that War, untill the (before mentioned) sum of fourscore thousands pounds hath been levied, collected, and paid in to the Treasurers aforesaid, to be disposed of, for the payment of the Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers; and for the providing, sending over into *Ireland*, and paying for Victuall, Cloaths, Arms, Ammunition, and other things necessary for supply and maintenance of the said *British* Forces, who shall continue faithfull in the Service, and persist in the prosecution of the War against the Rebels; and for the payment of such fair and reasonable Salaries and Allowances, as the said Committee shall further think fit to be given

to

to those that shall be necessarily imployed for this Service.

And be it further hereby Ordained and Declared, That whatsoever moneys shall be levied, raised, and payed to the said Treasurers by virtue of this Ordinance, over and above the beforementioned sum of fourscore thousand pounds, such overplus of moneys, shall be disposed of in such manner, as shall be further Resolved and Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

And be it lastly Ordained and Declared, That such persons as shall lend Money, or other necessary Provisions for the Service of *Ireland*, upon the credit of this Ordinance, shall be repayed the said Moneys so to be lent, and the value of the said Provisions, with the usuall forbearance, at the rate of eight pound *per cent*, from the time of lending such Moneys or Provisions, untill the severall sums thereupon to become due unto them, shall be fully satisfied and payed out of the said sums of Money to be raised by virtue of this Ordinance; and that the Committee in this Ordinance named, or any five or more of them, shall hereby have power and authority, to ingage the credit of this Ordinance, to such person or persons as shall lend any Money as aforesaid; Which sums of Money so lent, are to be acknowledged by the Treasurers, by Acquittance or Acquittances under their hands, or the hands of any two of them, testifying the Receipt thereof. Provided alwayes, That the foresaid Committee shall not ingage the credit of this Ordinance for more then the sum of fifty thousand pounds; And that the said Treasurers abovenamed, shall not issue any part of the said eighty thousand pounds to be raised by this Ordinance, to any other person or persons, to any other use, or upon any other Warrant or Order whatsoever, untill the Money which shall become due by virtue of Loans, to be made on the credit of this Ordinance as aforesaid, be fully satisfied and payed; and that in manner of repayment of the said severall persons, regard be had to such as lend Money or Provisions as aforesaid, on the credit of this Ordinance, That those who shall first lend, and to whom by contract or agreement, the Moneys and forbearance shall be first due, shall be first paid, severally and respectively, what shall be due unto them in order and time, as the same shall grow due, if they

they shall demand the same; and that if any of the said persons who shall so lend Moneys or Provisions, at the rates aforesaid on the credit of the said Ordinance, or their Executors or Assigns, shall at any time within six Moneths next, after the date hereof, think fit to adde any other sum of Money, to the sum by them to be advanced on the credit of this Ordinance, and shall make Election, That such sum or sums of Money, as by them shall be advanced or added thereunto, shall be converted into an adventure for Land in *Ireland*, upon any Act or Ordinance of Parliament, touching Land in *Ireland*, to be distributed to Adventurers, and shall declare the same in writing to the said Treasurers, and shall release the ingagement upon this Ordinance, for repayment of the said Money or Provisions now to be lent; That then such person or persons, their Executors or Assigns, shall be admitted thereunto, in as full and ample manner, to all intents and purposes, as if he or they, had at the time of such Loans, advanced the said Money or Provisions, upon the said Act or Ordinance of Adventurers of *Ireland*.

FINIS.

2

The King goes towards Oxford with a party.
Sir Wil. Wallers pursuits of Him, and his falling upon His Majesties Rear, and taking divers Prisoners.
A party of Sir Hugh Cholmlies horse taken by Serjeant Major Lilburn.

Numb. 74



Mercurius Civicus.

LONDONS INTELLIGENCER

OR,

Truth impartially related from thence to the whole Kingdome,

to prevent mis-information.

From *Thursday Octob.* 17. to *Thursday Octob.* 24. 1644.

ALL mens expectations are now generally fixt upon the issue of the two maine Armies of the Kingdome now in neere engagement. The Parliaments friends look upon the good successe of their Army at this time as that which will make amends for their late losse in the West, and much raise their hopes of a more speedy and happy condition of this too long protracted War

to the setlement of our Religion, Lawes and Liberties. On the other side the Malignants are confidently perswaded, That if the Kings party should now prove victorious, the day would be absolutly their owne, and therefore they also looke wishly, and with stretched out Necks gaze at the event of the next Battell. Here that known Maxime; *Man proposeth and God disposeth* may be fitly applied to both parties, it not being in the comprehension of any humane creature whatsoever positively to determine how much the next successe will conduce to the advantage or disadvantage of either partie, for the Almighty knowes best how to finish his owne worke by his owne meanes and in his owne time, and his power hath often been most eminently conspicuous when there hath been least appearance of outward helpes. The affaires of the Kingdome are now indeed come to a great height, one victory will probably produce so great a turne of things as that by the eye of reason some conjecture may be made unto which side the Scales will turne, which are now upon the matter so equally ballanc't, nor are we like to be long in suspense for resolution therein, there being so little distance betweene both Armies. The Intelligence that we had Munday last, *October* 21 was; That the Kings Army did then keepe their head quarters at Andovour, neere which place there had been some bickerings the day before betweene Sir *Will. Waller* and them, in which Sir *Will. Waller* tooke prisoners of the enemies two Captaines and divers common Souldiers, but upon the moving of the greatest part of the body of the Kings Army that way, hee retreated towards Basingstoke, (with the losse of about 30 men) where he then was, and that the Lord Generalls Forces were then upon their march towards him and intended to be that night at Alton; That the Earle of *Manchester* was at Basingstoak, and the *London* Brigade neere unto them, all in a posture ready to entertaine the enemy. I shall not now goe about to demonstrate of what strength our Army is, being desirous neither to eye nor rely to much upon the arme of flesh.

The Enemy are generally voted to be numerous and (as some say) they mustered above 20000 upon Salisbury plaines, which if true it will be the greater glory if God please to blesse our forces with victory, but by the best Intelligence they are informed to be not above 16000. The enemy have divided their Army into three Brigades, one whereof was then with Sir *Ralph Hopton* at Winchester,

the second at Andover, and a third party gone towards Marlborough, and so probably for Oxford or to raise the siege before Banbury Castle, but that intention of their's will be frustrate if the intelligence we had Tuesday last prove true, which was that the Castle was surrendered to our forces, of which more before the end of this Intelligence. The grand designe of the enemy (although like *Janus* they looke two wayes either for Oxford or Sussex) doth most probably appeare to be for *London*, if not repaid by our Armies, His Majesty having lately set forth a Proclamation dated at Chard the first of this instant *October*, whereby *he invites all his loving subjects either to come in and joyne with his Army or to send what possible supplies they can according to their ability, for that he intends speedily to march to the City of London, to inforce the Rebells there to imbrace a Peace against their wills, which He would not have them to faile or prove negligent in, for that is will be the speediest meanes to settle the long desired Peace amongst all his subjects.* He further invites all of His party in *London, and all the Associated Counties to take up Armes to assist Him.*

His Majesty hath often offered the plunder of London, first to the Irish Rebels, then to the Scots if they would come to his assistance, and this questionlesse is His present designe though not mentioned in His Proclamation, but I doubt not but that as God hath hitherto, so he will still protect this City, which (notwithstanding all the cunning Plots & treacherous and bloody designes against it) hath been miraculously preserved to be a Magazine for supplies unto the severall Armies of the Parliament, an Asylum or sanctuary unto multitudes of distressed Christians, and a City of refuge unto most of the faithfull and godly Ministers from all parts of the Kingdom, by the enjoyment of whose gifts it is now become a Goshen for light, and by the frequent dayes of humiliation set apart therein become the onely Bochim or place of teares of the whole Kingdome. So that what was said to *Monica* mother of *Austin* in a personall case, may be more fitly applied to this City, That it is not possible *Quod pro tot lacrymarum & precum pondere pereat.* That a City for which so many prayers are put up, and so many teares shed by so many of Gods people should be destroyed, and given up into the hands of so cruell an enemy, but that God will put a hooke into their nostrils and turne them backe by the way that they came as he did the Army of *Sennacherib*, when they were comming against *Jerusalem*.

By Letters out of Dorsetshire it was certified on Monday last, That a Regiment of the enemies horse being the Queenes owne Regiment were lately scouting about to plunder and pillage in that County, whereof the garrison of Poole having intelligence, they sent forth a considerable party, who fell upon the enemies forces neere Blanford in that County, kild 16 upon the place, tooke two Colours, the Queenes blacke banner, a Medle-booke, and other trumpery, forty prisoners, an hundred brave horse, and retreated to Poole with the losse of one man. The successe is enough to confute *Antiens* and the London-malignants who have lately with much confidence affirmed, that the garrison of *Lyme*, Poole, and Warham were all strongly blockt up by the Cavaliers.

Tuesday, *Octob.* 22. A speciall publique Fast was kept in London and Westminster and all Parishes within the lines of communication and bils of mortality, according to the order of both houses of Parliament, to implore the blessing of Almighty God upon our Armies; There preached before the Lords in the Abbey at Westminster Dr. *Temple* upon Matth. 10. 29. Mr. *Palmer* upon Joh. 7. 12. and Mr. *Chambers* upon Jerem. 14. 8 9. verses. And before the house of Commons in St. *Margarets*, Mr. *Calamy*, upon Acts 17:30. Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwicke*, upon Hebr. 12. 7. And Mr. *Vines* upon 2 Sam. 15. 26, 27.

The Committee of Fortifications for the City of London are now considering of a speedy way for the easing and freeing of the Trained-bands of the City from keeping the Forts, by raising and maintaining of forces who may solely attend upon that service, and not be diverted by other occasions which the Trained-bands as well Commanders as common Souldiers are often forced to doe. On Friday last the Committee for the Fortifications taking occasion to survey the keeping of the workes found but one Captaine and two Lieutenants at twelve Forts and Redoubts, whereas the Commanders have constant pay allowed them for that service; and on the other side the Souldiers in the Trained-bands would be more willing to pay towards the maintenance of such a constant Garrison then to be so often taken off from their more necessary and profitable imployments.

On Tuesday after the conclusion of the three Sermons the house of Commons met in their house, where a Letter from the Lord *Warrisons*

night and Mr. Chetwynd said, whereby the Parliament had information of the conjunction of all the three Armies horse and foote neere Basing, and that Munday Octob. 12. it was resolved to fight. The Lord Generals foot are betweene three and foure thousand, whose earnestnesse to joyne with the Earle Manchester was such that they marched through the horse-way upon the knees. The Kings forces were then about White-church, Andover and Winchester, and the horse within five miles of our Armye. The Lord Generall, the Earle of Manchester and Sir William Waller and the other chiefe Commanders were to make choice of a place for battell, and my Lord Generall sent to Reading and all places to pull up all bridges, least the King should steale away to Oxford, by which meanes the enemy will not easily avoyde a battell, and it is generally believed, that Wednesday or Thursday next at furthest the Armyes will be joyned in battell. The Lord grant the issue may be such as may conduce to the more speedy settlement of a firme and lasting peace, with the enjoyment of Religion, Lawes, and liberty; which are the chiefe objects of all the endeavours and prayers of all the well affected of this Kingdome.

The Letters this weeke out of Lincolnshire informe, that a party of Colonell Hotham's horse had performed a gallant exploit against Captaine Weddell and others of the Cavaliers who had a long time done much mischiefe about Rutland, and hearing of their being at Grantham fell upon them, tooke the said Captaine Weddell, and another Captaine, one Lieutenant, two Cornets, and about 50 prisoners more, and 60 horse and Armes, all which they brought away safe to Bolton in Lincolnshire.

It is also further certified hence, that there are about 1000. of the Lincolnshire foot before Crowland, besides the horse, and that the Towne cannot long hold out.

Also Tuesday the 24 of October there came newes that the Colliers and Cavaliers in Newcastle had hung out a white Flag, and on Thursday last sounded a parley; and all Letters thence doe intimate that this Treaty will prove effectuall; if not, the scaling-ladders and all other implements are ready and they fully provided for a storme.

Some report, that the defendants Sir Io. Wheeler and the rest have offered a surrender upon quarter to march away with bag and

baggage

baggage, which was granted by the lord Generall Essex, to all the English, with an exception only of such Scots, these who had taken the Covenant and perfidiously broken it by taking up Armes for the popish party, whom he will have to be tryed and proceeded against according to desert; of which answer (as 'tis said) they desired time to consider; but this being but a report I shall not so readily give credence thereunto till some letters come for the confirmation thereof.

By Letters out of Yorkeshire it is advertised, That Colonell *Lambert* since his and Colonell *Sandys* taking a Troope of horse in Craven hath falne upon the enemies Quarters at Plumpton in Yorkshire, and taken an Irish man the commander in chief of the Enemies forces there, 120 horse and divers other prisoners.

There is likewise come further newes this week out of the North, That the Irish Rebells (His Majesties loving subjects) having sent a ship with 8 preces of Ordnance, and 20 double Barrells of powder and other ammunition provided for the relief of Carlile, unto White-haven in Cumberland the Towne of Carlile being much straitned for want of powder and other ammunition, Sir *Wilfrid Lawson* who hath raised a brave Regiment in Cumberland for the Parliament, surprised the said Ship in the Haven, which he performed by manning out some men in boates, and seised upon all Ship, Ordnance and Ammunition.

A Petition is drawne up by divers Citizens of quality, and will be shortly presented to the Parliament subscribed with many thousand hands, for which purpose there have beene divers meetings this weeke at Salters Hall and other places about the City, The effect of the Petition is, That Justice may be speedily executed upon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Bishop *Wren* and other grand Delinquents, and that a speedy course may be taken for the election of new members of the Parliament, for that divers Counties and Boroughes complaine they want Burgesses to serve in Parliament to make knowne their grievances, both which the Parliament will no doubt speedily determine in a seasonable time for the most advantage of the Kingdome, the due execution of Justice being so acceptable unto Almighty God, That (as was excellently observed by Mr. *Palmer* in his Sermon on Tuesday before the Lords) the same day the Bill for beheading the E. of *Strafford* was passed, the pro-

testation

testation was published to all the Kingdome, and His Majesty pas-
sed the Act for the continuance of this present Parliament, and that
it should not be dissolved without their consent, which Law (being
the pledge of all our subsequent hopes) His Majesty is bound to
performe, and use what art He will, He cannot oppresse the people
with a belefe that this is no Parliament.

Saturday last *October* 29. That grand asserter of the truth, Doctor
Bastwick came into London, he was met by a great company of Re-
ligious and well affected Citizens, to whom his presence was very
acceptable, having besides his former long and bitter sufferings un-
der the Tyrannicall usurpations of the Bishops, indured two yeares
imprisonment in the power of the Cavaliers, by whom he was cruely
and inhumanly used; The last place wherein he was imprisoned
(for he had beene diverse times removed from Yorke and other
places) was Knaresborough in Yorkeshire, whence he was released
for Lieutenant Colonell *Hadaston*. Thus the Almighty hath emi-
nently made good that promise of his to this worthy and religious
patriot, and the rest of his brethren: *Many are the afflictions of the
righteous, but the Lord will deliver them out of all.*

On Wednesday last *October* 23. The house of Commons tooke
into consideration the Triall of the Irish Rebells, and in regard it
was the day whereon the Irish Rebellion begun, they were very seri-
ous it might have begun this day; but things being not therein
readinesse; They ordered that all possible expedition should be
made to bring them to the Kings Bench Bar, and that the Kings
Councell would prepare themselves and the Grand Jury to be in rea-
dinesse with as much speed as could be, so that it is thought they
will come to their Triall by Saturday next, or Munday at the
farthest.

Also the same day the house of Commons had intelligence from the
Lord Generals Army to this effect, that whereas his excellency had pre-
pared to give the King battell, His Majesty is seeme very willing
thereunto, and contrary to expectation hath slipt away with his Foot
& a party of horse towards Oxford, and lay on Munday night last at
Kingsley, whereof Sir *Wil. Waller* having intelligence pursued the Kings
forces, fell on their reare and tooke prisoners divers Commanders of
quality, and 60 common souldiers. The same Letters further certi-
fie, that his Excellency had taken order for the cutting downe of

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the bridge at Reading, leaſt his Majeſty ſhould have got to Oxford that way. And Letters were ſent from Major-generall Brown at Abington, with directions from the Lord Generall, the Earle of Manchester, and Sir *Will. Waller*, that he ſhould by all meanes defend and hold out that Towne in caſe the King ſhould endeavour to force it, for that his Excellency with the reſt of the Commanders intended to leave a party to encounter with the horſe and keepe them out of Suſſex, and to follow His Majeſties foot cloſe at the heeles. So that it is probable His Majeſty will not be able to get to Oxford, unleſſe he march ſo farre about, that our Armies will enforce him to fight whether he will of no.

From Abington we heare, that Major-generall Brown lately marched towards Oxford, neere which place he encountred a party of the enemys, which he routed, killed the Commander in chiefe, and tooke divers priſoners. And alſo fetcht in great ſtore of Cattell out of the Countries thereabouts, and brought them to Abington.

Wedneſday in the afternoon we had intelligence, that His Majeſty was got beyond Newbery, and was expected to come to Oxford that night; which whether he attained or no is not poſſible as yet to certifie: But by this it appeares His Majeſties army is not ſo glorious and potent as the malignants gave out, in that they dare not ſtand us a battell with our forces.

The report of the taking of Banbury-caſtle, whereof I gave you ſome hint in the beginning is not certaine but the ſiege is ſtill continued before it, and great expectation there is of the ſurrender thereof.

The relation which I gave you before of the taking of 200 of the enemys horſe at Plumpton in Yorkſhire was on Wedneſday laſt confirmed by Letters unto the Parliament. As alſo that Sergeant-major *Lilburne* had taken 40 of Sir *Hugh Cholmley*'s horſe which lately ſallyed out of Scarborough: And that the Lord Fairfax had a conſiderable body of neere 6000 horſe alſo in the field.

FINIS.

London, Printed for *Tho. Bates* at the Signe of the Maydenhead on Snow-hill, neere the Conduit. And *Iohn Wright* in the Old-bailey, 1644.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Numb. 70.

3

THE PARLIAMENT SCOVT:

Communicating His Intelligence TO THE KINGDOME.

K. pp. London

From Thursday the 17. of Octob. to Thursday the 24. of October. 1644.

Thursday the 17. *of* October.

THere came news that his Majesty was come to *Salisbury* with 2000. horse, and but the day before it was assured us, that both Sir *William Waller*, and my Lord Generall were at *Salisbury*, sure they had met by this time, if the first had been true: others say, and its more probable, if so far from retreats, his Majesties whole power is there: Sir *William Waller* no doubt is not far off, for in our last he was within five miles of *Salisbury*, which assures us his Majesty would not adventure with a party of 2000. horse as is said; we hope my Lord Generals powers will get abroad before

his Majesty come further up, otherwayes he will hardly joyn with our other powers: My Lord of Manchester advanced seven miles from Redding to the Westerly, lay at Sir *Humphrey Fosters*, and no doubt will reach the other powers timely, after him goes the London Brigade about a dayes march behinde, sixty pieces of Ordnance and upward goes along, and they considering the wayes and season of the year, are enough, but they are lighter then our last.

It may not be amisse to tell you of a Letter, purporting that there are certain men in Norfolk, and other Countries of that Association, that go up and down, crying out against some in my Lord of Manchesters Army, that they are men not to be trusted, and that they will, if they be not prevented, get a power together, joyn with the King against the Parliament, for liberty of Conscience: Is this a time to set divisions? Is this wise dealing? Here is good doings, when we should be making our party unanimous against the common enemy, we are at a back ward, setting differences among our selves, nay, such jealousie and fears are infused and distilled, that publike service hath been indeavoured to be protracted. When the Protestants in Germany, in *Luthers* time should have bent their powers against the bloody papists, that would have destroyed them all, then steps up some cunning conceited man, and he must not indure those that differed, though but in a circumstance, no not for a moment, an Army must go against them also, and so fall at differences among themselves, and be thereby disinabled against the common enemy, and this is not only in matters of Religion, for this day was debated also in the painted Chamber, a great difference between the Earl of Denbigh, and the Committee of his Association; his Counsell undertook to answer them all, and did, but in the mean time the service of the Countries is retarded, and the Counties there, who are able to send out as many against the common enemy, as those under my Lord of Manchester, now send not 100. for their 1000.

Friday

Friday the 18. *of* October.

We underſtood that my Lord Mancheſter was gone forward, and will meet Sir *William Waller* at Alton, Sir *Will. Balfore* lies between Andover and Salisbury, ſo that let my Lord Generall come from Portſmouth with his foot, which he no boubt will do before his Majeſty come forward, and then we ſhall be ready to receive the great powers: We have ſaid enough of the ſtrangneſſe of this action, and advance of the enemy, time will ſhew ere long more then is now obvious: We underſtand the Commiſſioners went this day to the Army, *viz.* Maſter *Crew*, and the Lord *Warriſton*, theſe, with his Excellency, the Earl of Mancheſter, Sir *Arthur Haſterig*, Sir *William Waller*, and Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell* are to mannage the grand actions in the Weſtern deſign, and without them nothing is to be done; and now ſee my Lord *Digby*, if you can byas, or corrupt any of theſe: There is Letters that tell us (and we muſt not omit it) its that Colonel *Fleetwood* hath ſurprized 100. of the enemies horſe neere Grantham: Likewiſe that our powers are neer Newark, and intend to fight with the enemy upon his return thither, nay to follow him into Linſey.

We heare alſo a confirmation of the Treaty at Leverpool, and that firſt Sir *John Meldrum* refuſed, becauſe one that came out was a papiſt: Secondly, he would not condeſcend that the Garriſon ſhould go to Cheſter, and after when they deſired a farther Treaty, Sir *John* refuſed, ſo that they are its probable, in great want of proviſions, or Ammunition, or both: We heard alſo this day that Sir *William Brereton* was cloſe to Cheſter upon the Engliſh ſide, that they withinſallyed out, but were beaten back, 60 taken, and 2 Sacres: The ſame day we underſtood that they had parleyed alſo at *Banbury*, and that that place its like will be ſuddenly over: As likewiſe that the Kentiſh horſe and dragoons are in readineſs, and will draw to the frontiers.

Saturday the 19. *of* October.

The Propoſitions were ended and compleated, we heartily wiſh that the Lords may ſo ſoon agree upon them, that they may interpoſe and prevent action, now that the Armies draw neer each other, and a happy interpoſition God grant it may be, that a good end may be without any more bloodſhed.

The miſeries of War, to whom can they be pleaſant? Its not poſsible to any but a ſouldier, and when they ſhall put into one ſcale the many ſad night watches, long and weary marches, ſcorching heat, pinching cold, wet and dirt, louſie, ſwine-like lodging, and beſides all ſuch, dangers of loſſe of life by the ſword, bullet, ſickneſſe, and a little pay; plunder and power to domineer in the other: Who but a man hardned in miſery, and to whom bleſsings, through conſtant want of them, would be miſeries, can deſire the continuance of, and yet if he ſhould, why one Propoſition is the continuance of the War in Ireland there: to reſtore the Prince Elector to his patrimony, and other things neceſſary that might be named, will be work enough.

This day there was ſpeech that Leverpoole was taken, and if not, we expect it every houre: and that Colonell *Maſſie* had taken a place of great importance, divers priſoners, Ordnance, Arms, horſe and powder.

We had news alſo that my Lord Generall was come abroad to the Downes, on this ſide Portſmouth, and that hee was expected this night at Petersfield.

Monday the 21. *of* October.

We had Letters that tell us that his Majeſty came to Andover Friday, with all his powers, being as we are from good hands aſſured 7000. foot, and 5000. horſe, its ſaid he made an honourable retreat, and we hope it was ſo, a little ingagement there was, and but little, about ten loſt of either ſide, a good come off: He retreated to my Lord *Mancheſter*, and is now with him; and alſo My Lord Generall is come ſo neer

with

with his powers, that they are in a conjunctive posture, the *London* Brigade is also at *Basing* with my Lord of *Manchester*, the Letters that came this day make his Majesty to be come with his Carriages to *Winchester*, still from one City to another, these Bishops Sees are so royall, and loyall, that they are still the chiefe receipt: We see how they have been educated: the other part of his Majesties powers are come within eight miles of *Basing*, and *Saturday* his horse made a dareing flourish, as if they would have fallen on presently upon us, but that proved but a flourish, they may hap bite next time, if we look not to them, and now that the enemy is so neer, and so resolute and daring, and that things draw to a bloody battell, sure we have something else to Plot and contrive, then to displease, discontent, and root out such parties, as seem not to run diameter with us in every circumstance in Religion.

This day we were confirmed that Colonell *Massie* had bravely performed the service, before spake of, and had killed divers, taken many prisoners and Armes, he was hard put to it, for he was beaten off his horse, and had been killed but for his head peece, he that would have killed him, was killed, a few men did this, but of great resolution.

This day we had newes that the Garrison of *Poole*, had fallen upon a Regiment of French, Dutch, and Walloones, routed them, and taken 100 horse: this was the Regiment sure that *Aulicus* tells of, that did so plunder at *Shafsbury*. These *Dorsetshire* garisons of honest men, they are so active, and do so disturb the enemy, we must get some of the third party amongst them, or they will spoyle all.

Tuesday the 22. *of* October.

This day we understood that the Kings power, or foot forces were about *Whitchurch*, in the Newforrest, and that His horse were againe drawne forth, It was then

doubtfull whether there would be any action or not, and that becauſe the Kings foot did not alſo advance, our army is already ſtraitned for proviſions, and this we may thanke a late march for its to be doubted, and beſides if his Majeſtie ſtay yonder and not fight, then we ſhall have thoſe parts which we may moſt properly call ours ſpoyled, and the Weſt reſerved for His Majeſtie in the end of the yeare.

But to acomodate us, all haſte is made hence with Cheeſe, and other proviſions, ſuch as cannot be had there, that ſo we may hold out for proviſions: but whether we ſhall advance to force the enemy to fight is doubtfull.

We have not to this, nor the laſt: received any thing from the army before *Newcaſtle* how things goe, only this, ſome conceive a ſpeedy ſurrender in regard thoſe in the towne, and divers townes men cry for an accord, and have imbraced a treatie.

We heare that His Majeſtie ſince His Proclamation proporting His comming to *Oxford* hath put out one that invites all His loving ſubjects to aſſiſt him in an expedition to *London*, but its like that may alter alſo, there being like to be ſome rubs in His way in caſe he come the common road by *Baſing Stoke*.

The letter late *Tueſday* night tels us that his excellency hath beene *Munday* to view the Country, and to ſee the conveniencie of ground, and that becauſe its beleeved the King muſt fight, or do worſe, *viz.* waſt to nothing, but in regard this is like to be our caſe alſo as well as His: why may we not offer battaile to the enemy, which yet we never did: they did to us at *Edgehill*, *Newbury*, *Yorke*, *Hornecaſtle*, and other places, let us once, and if at any time at this time: we are a third in power more then they, which though victory be not allwayes to the greater number, yet is it in reaſon ground enough to charge though upon ſome diſadvantage.

Wedneſday

Wednesday the 23. *of* October.

This day it was confidently believed we should have had as great a fight as at *Edgehill*, and we did not doubt, had God given victory, we should have prosecuted it; but we are all disappointed, and it may be from heaven, that no more blood may be spilt, the Messenger that came this morning, brings word, that his Majesties Infantry (while his horse faced us) marched towards *Newbury*, and in probability are by this time in *Oxford*, its true our horse, and Sir *William Wallers*, and for ought he knew my Lord *Manchesters* foot follow after the enemy, but there was none could direct, nor that could say which way they went, nor which way it was best to go to finde them; some are of opinion we may overtake them, but its to be feared, it will be those that are not worth the taking nor following, and thus as fully as we could, we have given our friends an account of the proceedings of those two gallant Armies.

His Majestie this night in all probabillity is at *Oxford*, there to consult according to Proclamation what to do next year, and so we see his Proclamation which tells His intentions to *London*, was but to draw us towards *Basing*: that He might get the better to *Oxford*, where he may stay if He have provisions in or about *Oxford*, and while this weather, and winter hold, we cannot disturb him.

At the beginning of this yeare, we went with 22000 horse and foot to *Oxford*, frighted His Majestie out of *Oxford* with some 5000 horse and foot, with half our army we went after, were disapointed about *Worcester* encountred neere *Banbury*, our other army went West as far as *Cornwell*, His Majestie followed, came back to *Andover*, and on this side, there made as if he would have fought; which we had great reason to beleeve,

he was so numerous, makes a flourish with his horse; marches in the interim away with His foot, and if He gets to *Oxford*, then it is as we were, and theres an end.

By letters that came this day about noone we learne that some of ours light upon some of the quarters of the Kings after deserted, and tooke 60 prisoners 17 horse, a Captaine, and some 3 Lieutenants.

Not to forget to give one expression of sorrow for poor *Banbury*, and the West part of *Northamptonshire*; how are you like to suffer again, how cheerfully have you laid out your selves formerly, and how are you like to suffer by the return of the enemy? What will you do, and what shall be done? for your habitations are like to be desolations.

My Lord Generall with his powers, is come to *Redding*.

London *Printed for* R. W. *October* 24. 1644.

A TRVE 4

RELATION

Of the Taking

Of Newcaſtle

By Aſſault, on *Saturday* the nineteenth
Of *October* inſtant, 1644.

Being certified in Three

LETTERS:

The truth of which is likewiſe certified to the Parliament, by Letters of the ſame date:

In which Service the Scottiſh Army behaved themſelves with great Valour.

Publiſhed by Authority.

London Printed for *Robert White*, Octob. 25. 1644.

A TRUE

RELATION

Of the Taking

Of Newcastle

By Assault on Saturday the nineteenth
Of October inſtant, 1644.

Being contained in Two

LETTERS:

The truth of which is likewiſe certified
by the Parliament, by Letters of the ſame date:

In which Service the Scottiſh Army behaved
themſelves with great Valour.

Publiſhed by Authority.

London Printed for John Wright, Octob. 25. 1644.

A Letter.

Sir,

YOu may with confidence impart the good newes of the taking of Newcaſtle, by aſſault, to all our friends, but little loſſe to us. It was ſtormed this day about two of the clock, in ſeverall parts of the Town, and we were Maſter of it about four.

To morrow the Generall makes his entry, to give God thanks for ſo

great a bleſsing: Sir *Jo. Marley*, and divers others have betaken themſelves to the Caſtle, and deſired to ſurrender upon quarter, but his Excellencie would grant them none, unleſſe they did wholly ſubmit unto his mercy.

The Plague is ſo hot in Tinmouth Caſtle, that divers of the Commanders there have left it, and we hope ſuddenly to be Maſter of that place alſo, and then the ſhips may come freely for Coales.

Gates-head 19.
Octob. 1644. *L. M.*

Another Letter.

Sir,

IN my last of the seventeenth I gave you notice of the Towns inclination to a Parley, which being well accepted of by his Excellency Generall Lesley, the particulars of the Propositions being propounded, were rejected by them in the Town; whereupon it occasioned on this present Saturday a violent Assault in severall places of the Towne at once, and in two houres: viz. from two to foure, we became Masters of the Town; the storme was violent for a time, but they within suffered much.

The Scottish Souldiers entered the breaches with much valour, whilest others of them got over the walls with scaleing Ladders, upon the sight whereof, they

within threw down their Armes, and the principall of them fled into the Caſtle, and offer to ſurrender upon Quarter, which his Excellency refuſes to give, unleſſe they ſubmit to his mercy: I hope now your London Woodmongers will fall in the price of Coales.

Tinmouth Garriſon is ſo viſited with the Plague, that their chiefe Commanders are fled already: Now the Scottiſh Armie will be able to aſſiſt you in the South.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Sunderland 19. Octob. 1644. *Your very loving Friend, T. W.*

Another Letter.

THe Poſt is going with Letters to the Parliament, my time is ſhort, Newcaſtle is taken by ſtorming; the Scottiſh Souldiers behaved themſelves valiantly. To morrow his Excellencie enters the Town: within a a day or two you will have the particulars at large: yet Letters are ſent by this expreſſe to Maſter Speaker. I hope you at London will not mourne for it, eſpecially now that winter comes on.

Benwell, 19. *Octob.* 1644.

Yours, &c.
Ro. Co.

Another Letter.

THe Post is going with Letters to the Parliament, by time is short. Newcastle is taken by storming; the Scottish Souldiers behaved themselves valiantly. To morrow his Excellencie enters the Town: within a day or two you will have the particulars at large: yet Letters are sent by this expresse to Master Speaker. I hope you at London will not mourne for it, especially now that winter comes on.

Yours, &c.

Berwell, 19.
Octob. 1644.

Jo. Co.



The Dove doth shew what use we are to make (deriake
Of her Intelligence, and doth un-
That God's offended with our Nation, (mation:
By breach of Covenant, for resist-
Divisions cherisht in our Church and State. (too late.
Praiseth new Armewes, if reform'd
She tells of Poules good service, and doth blame (praise:
The fame of noble Massy to his
O. Rossiter, and Lambert she doth tell,
And praiseth their service, for they have done well:
New-castle after Parley now is taken,
Liverpoole is yeelded, and forsaken.

Be wise as Serpents, innocent as Doves.

THE SCOTISH DOVE

Sent out, and Returning;

Brings Intelligence from the Armies of both Kingdomes, and relates other Passages observable for Information and Instruction.

From Friday the 18. of *Octob.* till Friday the 25. of the same. 1644.

New-castle taken, the King and his forces at Newbery.

The use of all Intelligence is, or should be, for information, and advice; all actions and accidents being guided by Divine Providence, and doe declare to man Gods love and anger, his Mercy and Justice, and serve

for instruction to teach men duty: Gods mercies call for love, feare, reverence, and obedience; his Iudgements call for humiliation, repentance, reformation, and righteousnesse: the good successe of things in a Common-weale teach thankfulnesse, the miscarriage of things in the Common-weale, or particular Counties, Cities, or Families teach righteousnesse: God sends his Iudgements into the world, that the inhabitants of the earth should learne to live righteously, and holily. When we heare of any evill that hath befallen either an Army or particular Person, we should feare, and reform our lives, least the same, or worse should befall another Army, or our selves.

The present evills of punishment by the sword of the enemy upon these Kingdoms of *Great Britain*, and *Ireland* have manifested Gods anger against the inhabitants, and the continuance of it shewes that his hand is stretched out against us; the enemy that afflicts, hath no power in themselves to hurt us; they are but Gods instruments, his scourge: It is true they maligne us, and afflict us, because we are not Idolaters, Papists, and as prophane as they; but God suffers them, because we are too much Popish, and too much prophane; and because we will not abhorre the Whore, and wholly cherish our hearts from all Idolatry, Superstition and prophannesse; for this cause God suffers them to be pricks in our sides, till we reforme our lives, and regulate our judgements to the rule of his Word, as we have Covenanted to doe: when we first entred into Covenant with God for Reformation, God was pleased to give us many great victories against our enemies; but since we neglect to observe and keep our Covenant, God hath suffered the enemy to make a breach upon us, yet not to destroy us, but to humble us; and by fatherly chastisements to bring us to a reall reformation, we must bend or he will breake us in peeces.

To

To this end in great mercy God hath put into the Parliaments heart, to Command a Publick Fast throughout this great City; commanding all that are in Office and place to compell a strict observance; and so farre as in them lyes a holy day of reconciliation, and of attonement to be celebrated to the Lord, for our selves and for the Kingdome; and to begg a blessing by our earnest prayers upon our Armies, which was religiously solemnized on Tuesday last, yet notwithstanding (I speak it with grief) many of the great Malignants have been suffered to goe out of the City, because they abhor such a holy service to God; and are not questioned, what is this but to provoke God more against us? It is a sin will lye heavy on the guilty: *Cursed is he that doth the worke of the Lord negligently.*

We are apt (and that justly) to complain of treachery in our Armies, else (I say) our war might have been ended before now: But we consider not that God sees, and suffers treacheries to take, because we still provoke him; and he will not ease our misery. God hath prevented many destroying plots treacherously contrived against us, because he is not willing to destroy his people; but hath not prevented lesser Plots, because he would throughly reforme us: we have looked too much upon our Armies, and too little to God; we have been apt to Idolize some Armies, and some men, and to disgrace others; it is true, and I acknowledge to their praise, that some Armies have bin better governed then some other, yet every Army hath done bravely at some time, and at some other time they have failed: I know of none but they have bin broken, or turned their backs at one time or other (I speak of Armies, not of particular men) and not for the sins of the Armies onely, but for the sins of the whole Kingdome; (*Let him that is free cast the first stone at me.*) and surely where is no great cause of boasting, nor ground of contention, in solemnizing the Trophies of victory; for God hath done all,

if God make one man an instrument to day, and another to morrow, why should men contend one with another for Honour, or why cannot an equall be indured. When *Marcellus* came against the City *Magnesia* to besiege it, and there was a great dispute among the Citizens who should command them, whether *Crates* or *Hermias* (both honourable Commanders) they contended not who should have it, but who should give it to the other, at last *Crates* accepted of it, and *Hermias* was to him as a private man, such was their honour to their Country, that the Publick Affaires might not be hindered: he that gives honour to a man of honour loseth none, but he that contends for it by staining honour, shewes he hath it not.

Doubtlesse the devisions in our happy Parliament, and in our Armies, and in our Assembly are ill presages, and the petty differences in Counties, and in County Committees, are great discouragements, and prejudiciall to our good Cause; almost all (at least very many) love *Judas* Office, they would carry the Bag, seeme to take pitty of the poore, but for mony will sell Christ, his Cause, and undoe the Kingdome. My Prayer is, that our Worthies in Parliament would take notice of it, and in their wisedoms seek to prevent it. On Friday or Saterday last we had Intelligence of the taking of two Knights, honest brave gentlemen of Yorkshire, Sir *Hugh Bethell*, and Sir *Henry Franklin*, who were comming up to give in Evidence against Sir *John Hotham*, they were taken in Lincolnshire by a Party of Newark Horse, and carried Prisoners to Newark with their horses, and mony to a good value.

It is also certified about the same time that Col. *Rossiter* having Intelligence of a Party of Horse from Beavour were plundering the Country about Grantham, he made towards them, and in Grantham unexpected came upon them, tooke two or three Captains, and some other Officers, about fifty Prisoners, and above sixty Horse, and sent them to Boston,

and

and then went towards Linsey to pursue another Party of Horse that plundered there. From Crowland is certified, that the enemy is blockt up as I told you last week, but no more done that I am yet informed of. We have also from Hull and other places intelligence of a Ship that was taken at White Haven in Cumberland, in which Ship was eight great peeces of Ordnance, twenty Barrels of Powder, Bullet, Match, and other Ammunition which was going to Carlile, it was sent from the Irish Rebells, and taken by sir *Wilfrid Lawson*.

The Parliament have sent down to the Armies from the Committee of both Kingdomes, the Lord *Warreston*, and Mr. *Crew*, both of the Committee of State, that in the great busineſse now in hand (they then daily expecting an engagement in battle with the Kings Army) they might consult and advise with the Lord Generall, and the other Generalls concerning the designes of war. At the beginning of the weeke Col. *Massey* wrote to the Parliament, giving them notice of his happy succeſse in taking some of the Kings Forces, commanded by Sir *John Winter* at Beechley, a Passage that he had fortified, against which Col. *Massey* marched with about 100. chosen foot, and 8. good Troops of Horse, with which he faced the enemy into their work, and entred after them, notwithstanding their great and small shot, himselfe being the first that entred, where he was throwne by a leape with his Horse, and had his Helmet beat off his head with a Musket, but was rescued by Col. *Harley*, and Col. *Kerby*, Sir *John Winter* made his escape narrowly, 230. were taken Prisoners, divers of them Commanders of quality, 4 cale of Drakes, 9. Iron Peeces, 8. Barrels of Powder, with good store of Match and other necessaries of great value, some say 1000. l. value, Col. *Massey* lost but five men, and slew fifty.

On Tuesday was certified by severall letters that the Kings Army was advanced to Andiver, and had beat up Sir *William Wallers* quarters, but he was retreated with little losse; also

that

that some Skirmishes had been between him and the Kings Army, and some few men lost on both sides. But on Wednesday we were certified that the Kings Horse faced our forces as if they had intended to fight, but while they made a facing flourish, they drew away their traine of Artillery, and marcht away with their foot, and were come to Winchester, or to Newbury, whether he intend for Oxford or Worcester we shall heare more hereafter, but it is not probable they intend to make Oxford their winter quarter, there being so great a losse by fire, much Hay and Provender is consumed, many Stables and lodgings burnt, and much other Provision, and it will be hard for them to get any considerable supplies as the case now stands: it is rather conceived they intend to get to Worcester and Shrewsbury, Sir *Will. Waller* and the Earl of Manchester are in pursuit of the Kings Army. I should have told you before of the exploit done by the Governour and Garison of Poole, who upon some intimation of the advance of the Queenes own Regiment of horse that way, marcht out, and have surprised them, taken neere 100. excellent good horse, two Cornets, and a great deale of Popish Trumpery, Priests and Priestlings. They slew of them 16. and took Prisoners about 50. and this was at or neere Blanford, and lost but one man, three or foure were sorely hurt. It is certified that Col. *Lambert* hath fallen upon a Party of the enemies horse nerre Plumpton in Yorkshire, and hath taken about six score horse, and most of the men, Commanders and common souldiers.

It is reported that the Lord *Wilmot* that was imprisoned at Exeter is enlarged, and by the importunity of some of his friends hath gotten liberty to goe into France, and that he hath a Passe granted him to that purpose under the King's Hand; it is also affirmed by some, that Colonell *Hastings* is preparing to get away (with his Carriers plunder, and what else he hath gotten by Robbing) by Sea if he can get any Port

to

to take ship. There was a Proclamation of the Kings, that was intercepted and brought to the Parliament, which was read in the House: which is to all His loving Subjects to come in to his assistance; for He was now on His march towards London, and therefore that they should rise and joyne all their forces and Armes with him against that City, to settle a free Parliament, and Peace, against those Rebells, &c. He further invites all of his Party to London, and all of the Associated Counties to take up Armes and come to his assistance. It seemes his Majesty is confident that he hath a Party in the Associated Counties, or else his friends have deluded him, as they daily doe; else he had not needed to cry out for helpe as now he doth: yet it concernes the Deputy Lieutenants of Kent, and Essex, &c. to looke with a watchfull eye upon the Malignants in their severall Counties, and either take away their Armes, or try on their hands, for it is not good to trust a Foe in the Hen-roost.

There is certaine Intelligence from the Leaguer before New-castle, that they within have desired a Parley, and that they have held Parley two or three daies before the Intelligence came from thence, and that there was great hopes the Town would be yeelded; if not, all things were ready to scale the walls, having all their scaling Ladders ready, and their battering peeces ready mounted: it is by some affirmed, that they at the first Parley offered to give 30000 l. so that they might march away with bag and baggage, but the Earl of *Leven* refused it, except they would leave all the Scotch that were with him in the Towne as his prisoners; without question we shall heare very shortly good newes from thence. This day it is certified by a Letter from Hull, that the Town of New-castle is yeeded up, but there is no mension of any conditions; the Letter beares date the 19. of *Octob.* if I heare more, I shall insert it in the latter end of my sheet: I dare not affirme it upon credit.

Upon the reading of the Kings Proclamation before mentioned, the Parliament have sent into Kent, Surrey, and the other Associated Counties, that they shall all rise as one man, to stand in their defence against any opposition that may arise from any malignant Party: I hope the Counties are well acquainted with the intentions of such Proclamations by precedent passages and protestations against the Irish; when the intention was to defend them: they were proclaimed Rebels, but now they are loving subjects: so those that in this Proclamation are termed loving subjects, shall in the conclusion be proclaimed Rebels and Traitors.

After the Kings Army had given the L. Generall the slip, by flourishing

rishing face, they marched away toward Kingsley the way to Newbury, Sir *William Waller* being in pursuit of them, fell upon some of the straglig Reare, and tooke some Horse, and some Officers and common Souldiers.

Some report there was that Banbury Castle was yeelded, but it proves not a true report for it still holds out; I pray God our forces may hold out to keepe siege.

The great busines of difference between the Right Honorable the Earle of *Denbigh*, and some of the Committees of that Association hath been twice in debate this weeke, and is likely to be determined very shortly: It is the Countries losse that he is absent, and their greatest desire to have him amongst them: of whose Nobleness, Justice, Valour, Fidelity, they have had good experience, as is affirmed to me by divers of the best of the County of Warwick: both in degree and affection, therefore I am bold to averre it: And I doe believe it will be the Parliaments care to hasten him downe, when the Right Honorable Committee of Lords and Commons shall have made report to the Houses of the Evidences on both sides, and the occasions of the contentions; I am perswaded that all the dishonour that his enemies would have cast upon him, will redound to his greater honour, and to the shame of some of them, whose owne hand writing have testified for his honour, against themselves, and their verball accusations.

Leverpoole is yeelded to Sir *John Meldrum*, the English Souldiers that were in the Towne have liberty to march to *Chester*, leaving all their Armes in the Towne, and the Irish that were there, are left to the mercy of our Army.

The King and his Army was at Newbury on Tuesday, he had according to his 1000. horse of the Lord Generalls, the Earl of *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller*, only to kisse his hand. The L. Generall came to Reading on Wednesday morning, to secure that Towne; he went back to his Armies on Thursday, and so the Lords day the three Generalls met, where the L. Generall made a Speech to them, and their chief Commanders, the effect was thus: That all differences and private grudges should be buried in oblivion, and they all united in love as Brothers, to joyne and assist one another in the Publick Cause, against a common enemy, which was accepted with much joy.

Letters are come this Thursday Evening that New-castle is taken by storme, only some few of Lords and Gentlemen are fled into the Castle, but offer to yeeld if they may have quarter; which Generall *Leslay* refuseth because they refused it before. If Col. *Harry* who hath done ill, doe as wise men believe he will (and know upon what ground they goe) redeeme to his power what he hath damaged, then let men forbeare to speake evill for hereafter; if he doe, it is more then I look for.

Printed according to Order for L. C. 1644.

Numb. 51.

The true Informer:

Continuing a Collection of the most Speciall and Observable

PASSAGES,

From divers parts of the Kingdome, and from

His Majesty. } { Generall Lesley. } { Sir Tho. Middleton.
Lord Generall } { Sir William Waller. } { Lord D'Esmond.
E. of Manchest. } { Sir John Meldrum. } { Col. Mitton.

From Saturday Octob. 19. *to Saturday* Octob. 26. 1644.

A more full relation of the storming of Newcastle by the Scots Army on Saturday last. Letters from the Lord D'Esmond *in Ireland, of the taking of a Dunkirk Frigot with 8 Peeces of Ordnance, and 1800. pounds weight of powder, which was sent unto the Earle of Warwick. The taking of Leverpoole by Sir* John Meldrum, *and the conditions of the surrender thereof. An Order of thanksgiving on the Lords Day next for the taking of Newcastle. A report of the taking of Basing-house. The last intelligence from His Majesties Army, and of his lying at Newberrie on Wednesday night last, and of the taking an hundred Horse by the L. Generals Forces.*

THis week our Informer comes furnished with intelligence from severall parts: that which is of most concernment, and therefore necessarily requires to be in the first place communicated, is that long-expected, and now-welcome newes of the taking of Newcastle; which in regard the reports thereof have formerly so often failed, and come short of truth, will

not (I suppose) at this time (though very certaine) with much readinesse be assented unto.

Newcastle.

There were severall dayes this week divers continued reports of the taking thereof, but no Letters came untill Thursday last, Octob. 24. on which day the intelligence that came from the most credible hands (part of which was contained in a Letter sent to Captaine *Cranley*) was, That the town was entred by the Scots on Saturday last; who having then made a furious onset upon the town, the Defendants were inforced to yeeld to the L. Generall *Lesley*, Commander in chief before the Town, who took prisoners about 20. Lords and Knights, besides many other Gentlemen of quality, and many the great Papists in the County of Northumberland, and about other common Souldiers, with much Treasure and Ammunition. The Castle which stands in the middle of the Town (as we then heard) held out against them, it being their policie to defend it for a time, that they might gaine the better conditions to themselves; but the Scots, being now Masters of the Towne, it is probable, the Castle will not long hold out: besides, the Scots lately intercepted a Letter going from the Governour of the Castle to the Major of the Towne, wherein he signified, That the Plague was very hot in the Castle, insomuch that there died therein of that disease about 20. in one week: and one that came lately out of the Castle informes, that there were 60. when he came forth, by reason whereof, it could not be expected that they should indure long. But of this, and the severall particulars concerning the taking of Newcastle, not yet fully certified, I doubt not but before the end of this intelligence I shall be able to satisfie you in a more perfect and exact account: in this place I shall onely present these two Considerations, concerning the use of this, and all other the mercies of God, and then proceed to other intelligence.

1. Let us receive them thankfully, let us do with Christ, as sometimes *Ioab* did with *David*, who when he had taken Rabbah, sent for *David*, least the City should have been called after *Ioabs* name, and set the Kings Crowne thereof upon *Davids* head; let us bring in the Lord, and let not victory be called after our name, but let his name be set upon it. Histories write of a King, that looking over the Barge, as he was going by water, his Crowne fell therein, one of the Water-men leaps in, dives, takes up the Crowne, and when he comes up above water, puts the Crowne upon his head, that he might

might use both hands to expedite his return to the Boat. The King proportions his reward thus: for saving his Crown he allowes him a summe of money; but because he put it on, takes off his head, (thinking that head not fit to stand upon his shoulders, that presumed to weare that Crowne which was provided onely for the head of a King:) My Politiques are not sufficient to criticke upon such a censure: sure I am, it will be the highest act of treason in us, if we shall put this Crown of victory upon our own head, upon the head of our own strength and wisdome, which as it was wrought onely by the hand, so it was made onely for the head of him who is King of Saints, and Lord of Hosts. And (to bring home the allusion) it will be the highest act of justice in him, if he take away, not the Crowne onely from our head (in refusing so to prosper us any more) but our heads too from our shoulders, by leaving us to their execution, whose mercies are cruelty.

2 Let them incite us to obedience, the main peece of praise is the ordering of your conversations aright; there is so much thankfulnesse in our hearts, as there is holinesse and self-denialll in our conversations: without this we shall be found guilty of that mockerie *Bernard* speaks of, *Quasi sua offerent Deo, seipsos diabolo*, to give our sacrifices to God, but our selves to the Devill.

North-Wales.

By Letters from North-Wales, dated the 20. of this instant October, it is certified, That since the taking of Red-Castle, by Sir *Thomas Middleton* (whereof I gave you an accoknt a fortnight since) he hath performed much gallant service in those parts, he lately sent a parcie of Horse and Foot into Leigh, about a mile from Bishops-Castle where the Enemy had left a Garrison, which fled before his Forces came neer them; after this there was a partie of about 250. Horse sent from Mountgomery into Radnorshire, where they tooke the Lord *Leigh*, Patron of *Dunsmore*, who is now prisoner in Red-Castle, since this the Enemy have forsaken another Garrison called Leighall, a house of Sir *Pelham Corbets*, in Shropshire. Sir *John Price* (a Gentlemen alwaies well-affected to the Parliament though he was forced to conceale it) is made Governour of Mountgomery Castle, The Country came in very willingly to Sir *Thomas Middleton* upon Summons, but are very unwilling to fight, so little mid

valour is there in those who pretend to be descended from the ancient Brittains.

France.

There hath been much talke formerly concerning the intention of the Queen of France to send 10000. men into England to assist the King against the Parliament which I cannot so readily (as others) assent unto for that although the Queen Regent be a Spaniard yet her designes are altogether French, and shee knowes that the designes of Digby Cottington and others the most prevalent in the English Court are Spanish: besides most of the chief Commanders in her Armies are Protestants and the Protestants are as generally for the Parliament as the Papists there are for the King, like the wise Courtiers, which had rather the Parliament should prevaile then the King, by complying with the Queen Regent in her designes.

By some Letters thence it is this weeke certified, That the Queen having lately received som complaints against the *L. Goring*, they made so deep an impression upon her, that shee hath renounced him from being Ambassadour, and having great experience and assurance of the fidelity of *Jermin*, towards her, shee hath made him Ambassadour in his stead.

Wem.

By Letters this weeke from Wem it is advertised, That Colobell *Mitton* having information of Sir *William Vaughan*, and a partie of the Enemies Commanders with him were gone forth of Shrosbery Castle whereof Sir *William Vaughan* was Governour, the said Colonell marched himselfe with a partie and surprized Sir *William*, and 12. other Commanders, and brought them before the said Castle, and Summoned it for King and Parliament, those in the Castle seeming willing to surrender, but Sir *William* slipping in, caused the Bridge to be drawne up and returned an absolute denial contrary to his promise, whereupon Colonell *Mitton* left the Castle for that time, and carried away the other 12. Commanders, but will not be long before hee will againe visite the Castle, and requite the said Sir *William* for his perfidie.

There is a Colonell that offers and promises the Parliament, to take Basing-house, within 21. dayes, if the Parliament would give him

him a thousand Horse to besiege it, which it is probable will shortly be assented unto, that having been one of the most mischievous Garrisons of the Enemies in the whole Kingdome.

Reading.

On thursday last Octob. 24. That the King (notwithstanding his Proclamation which it seemes was onely a delusion to amuse our Forces) was gone towards Newbury and as is informed he lay at Newbury on Tuesday night last, and intended for Oxford, where his Excellencie having Intelligence, advanced to Reading, where he lay Wednesday night, and Thursday morning, marched with the Earle of *Manchester*, towards Aldermaston, and sent a partie towards Blewbury, in case the King should march to Worcester, or Shrewsbury, to the later of which places, we heare his Mint is already gone. Sir *William Waller* is still pursuing the King in the Reare: Also his Excellencie hath sent a partie to Major Generall *Brown* for his assistance in case the King should wheele about towards Oxford by Abbington, to which it is likely he will, if he can possibly get, having Summoned the pretented Parliament to meet there the 19. of the next Moneth, we heare of some skirmishes between divers of His Majesties and our Forces since the taking of 60. Horse neere Kingscleare by Sir *William Waller*, but the particulars of them are not yet informed.

Westminster.

On Thursday Octob. 24. The House of Commons had some debate about the request of the *Palsgrave*, who desired to have liberty to sit and heare the dispute of the Divines in the Synod, it being that wherein he delights, rather to spend his time then in other vain recreations, which request of his the Commons granted, and sent up the Order to the Lords, to desire their assent, who declared their concurrence accordingly.

The same day also the House of Commons passed an Ordinance to take of the Wardship of the Heire of the deceased valiant Commander Sir *William Fairfax*, who was slaine in the service of the Parliament neer Mountgomery Castle.

Die-

Thursday last, there came a certain confirmation of the taking of Newcastle, both by Sir *William Armyn*, and others, a copie of one of which from one of credit I shall here insert.

Sir, In my last of the 17. I gave you notice of the townes inclination to a Parley, which being well accepted of by his Excellency Generall Lesley, *the particulars of the Propositions being propounded, were rejected by them in the towne, whereupon it occasioned on this present Saturday a violent assault in severall places of the towne at once, and in two houres, viz. from two to foure, we became masters of the town: the storme was violent within for a time, but they within suffered much. The Scottish Souldiers entred the breaches with much valour, whilest others of them got over the wals with scaling ladders; upon the sight whereof, they within threw down their armes, and Sir* John Morley *and the chiefe of them fled into the Castle, and offer to surrender upon Quarter, which his Excellency refuses to give, unlesse they submit to his mercy: we hope shortly to be masters of this also, and then the ships may come freely. Tinmouth Garrison is so visited with the Plague, that their chiefe Commanders are fled already. Now the Scottish Army will be able to assist you in the South. I hope you in London will not mourn for the taking thereof now winter comes on, and the London Woodmongers will be glad to fall in the price of coale. I have herewith sent you a copie of the Propositions.*

Sunderland, 19. Octob. 1644.

1 That all Officers and Souldiers who are desirous to go out of the Town, should have liberty to go with Armes, Bag and Baggage, to any Garrison not baleaguered, within sixty miles; and should have a Convoy, Waggons, and meat in the way.

2 That all Strangers, Sojourners, or Inhabitants, who desired to go with the Souldiers, should have the like Libertie and Accommodation.

3 The Town shall enjoy their Priviledges and Jurisdiction, conform to their ancient Charters.

4 The Persons, Houses, Families Goods of the Citizens and Inhabitants should be free and protected from violence.

5 They should have their free Trade and Commerce, as other Towns reduced to the obedience of the King and Parliament.

6 That any of them who desired to go into the Countrey, and live in their countrey-houses, should have safeguard for their Persons, Families, Goods and Houses.

7 That

7 That no free Billeting shall be imposed on them without their consent.

8 The Army should not enter the Towne, but only a competent Garrison.

Leverpoole.

By Letters out of Lancashire it is advertised, That Leverpoole a strong port Town in that County formerly taken by Prince *Rupert*, is now yeelded to Sir *John Meldrum*, the English souldiers that were in the Town have liberty to march to Chester, leaving all their Armes in the Towne, and the Irish that were there are left to the mercy of our Army, if we thus proceed to take in the Enemies Garrisons (even in such ill winter weather) we shall not through Gods blessing have the war protracted to the end of another summer.

Friday Octob. 25. the House of Comanons having fully concluded on, and finished the Propositions for peace, (the contents of some of which I gave you the last week) sent them up to the Lords for their assent, upon whose concurrence with the Commons they will be speedily sent to His Majesty. And the City, in regard that their Propositions are not fully perfected, have appointed a common Councell to be speedily called, wherein some generall Propositions may be drawn up, to go along with those from the Parliament, that so they may not any wayes retard the presenting them to His Majesty.

The same day the House of Commons received Letters from the L. D' *Esmond* from Duncannon Fort in Ireland, and from the other Commanders there, wherein they declared their humble thanks unto the Parliament for receiving them into favour, much lamenting their former giving credence to His Majesties Protestations. Now finding that the chief Designe of His Majesties evill Counsellers, is to overthrow the Protestant Religion, and to destroy the Protestants of that Kingdome: and as a further testimony of their thankfulnesse, they thereby signifie, That having taken a Dunkirk Frigot which was going for the relief of the Rebels at Wexford, it coming within the command of that Fort, thinking they had still stood for His Majesty: they sent it with the Ordnance therein, being eight brave peeces, and 1800. pound weight of powder to the Earle of Warwick.

Warwick. It is also further certified out of Ireland, that the greatest part of the City of Dublin stand really to the Parliament.

This day we had but little Intelligence from the maine Armies, onely that His Majesties Army is much straitned, His Majestie being unwilling to hazard a Battell, is much troubled that the Parliaments Armies are so eager in pursuits after him; the Lord Generall having sent 6000. on his Reare; His Majestie lay Wednesday night at Newbury, at one M. *Westons* house, where he was on Thursday morning, it not being possible for him to get with his Foot to Oxford by reason of the great flouds, his strength is almost 13000. whereof 7000. Foot are most of them very poore, for want of cloaths, and His Majestie, although cloath be provided for them are not cloathed, for feare they should run away, or he should loose many of them in a Battell. We heard thence further that our Forces had taken about 1000. of the Cavaliers, which were going to Oxford: besides those 60. taken by Sir *William Waller* at Kingscleare.

Friday we had a confident report of the taking of Basing-house, but there are as yet no Letters or probability come for giving credence there unto.

Friday last, Octob. 25. both Houses of Parliament passed an Order to this effect.

Die Veneris, 25. Octob. 1644.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that on the Lords Day next, being the 27. of October, the Ministers in their severall Parish-Churches do give thanks unto almighty God for the prosperous successe of the Scots Army in the taking of Newcastle.

Printed for *Tho. Bates*, at the Signe of the Maidenhead on Snow-Hill neere Holborne Conduit, and for *J. W. J.* in the Old-Baily. 1644.

Two ORDINANCES OF THE LORDS and COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT:

One

Commanding that no Officer or Souldier either by Sea or Land, shall give any Quarter to any Irishman, or to any Papist borne in *Ireland*, which shall be taken in Armes against the Parliament in *England*.

The other

For the better observation of the monethly Fast, thorowout the Kingdome of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*:

Together with some Directions to the Officers within their severall Liberties, diligently to make search for, and take notice of all persons that either follow their work, or sit in Taverns or Victualling houses on that day.

Die Jovis 24. Octob. 1644.

Ordered by the Lords assembled in Parliament, That these Ordinances be forthwith printed and published.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

London printed for *John Wright* in the old Bayley.
26. Octob. 1644.

ORDINANCES

FOR DISCIPLINE

BRITISH LIBRARY

Die Iovis 14. Octob. 1644.

THe Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England doe Declare, That no Quarter shall be given hereafter to any Irishman, nor to any Papists Whatsoever borne in Ireland, Which shall be taken in Hostilitie against the Parliament: either upon the Sea or within this Kingdome, or Dominion of Wales: And therefore doe Order and Ordaine, That the Lord Generall, Lord Admirall, and all other Officers and Commanders both by Sea and Land shall except all Irishmen, and all Papists borne in Ireland, out of all Capitulations, Agreements, or Compositions hereafter to be made with the Enemy, and shall upon the taking of every such Irishman or Papist born in Ireland, as aforesaid, forthwith put every such Person to death. And it is further Ordered and Ordained, That the Lord Generall Lord Admirall, and

the Committees of the severall Counties, to give speedy notice hereof to all subordinate Officers and Commanders by Sea and Land respectively, who are hereby required to use their utmost care and circumspection that this Ordinance be duly executed. And lastly, the Lords and Commons doe Declare, that every Officer and Commander by Sea or Land, that shall be remisse or negligent in observing the Tenour of this Ordinance, shall be reputed a favourer of that bloody Rebellion of Ireland, and shall be liable to such condigne punishment as the Justice of both Houses of Parliament shall inflict upon him.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled, For the better observation of the monethly Fast. 24 Aug. 1642.

WHereas the Kings most Excellent Majesty, upon the request of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by and with their advice and consent, considering the lamentable and distressed condition of his good Subiects in the Kingdom of Ireland; (that there might be a generall humiliation of all the estates of this Kingdome be-

fore

fore Almighty God in Fasting and Prayer) was graciously pleased to Command the keeping of a monethly Fast; and to the end that all persons might the better take notice thereof, & and to leave such without excuse, as should not duly keep and observe the same; did afterwards by his Proclamation of the 8 of January 1644. appoint that the same should be generally, publikely, and solemnly holden and kept, as well by abstinence from Food, as by publike Prayers, Preaching, and Hearing of the Word of God, and other Religious and holy Duties in all Cathedrals, Collegiate, and Parish Churches, and Chappels within the Kingdom of England & Dominion of Wales (without any exception) on the last Wednesday of every Month, to continue during the troubles in the said Kingdom of Ireland. All which His Majesty did gratiously charge and command should be reverently and devoutly performed by all His Subjects, as they desire the pleasing of Almighty God, and would avoid his heavy indignation against this Land and People, and upon paine of such punishments as may justly be inflicted upon all such as shall contemne or neglect so Religious a worke and duty.

And whereas the Lords and Commons in both Houses of Parliament, have received diverse Informations from several parts of this Kingdome and Dominion of Wales, of the great neglect of the due observation and keeping of the said Fast upon the dayes appointed, and of the profanations of the same by many irreligious, ill affected, loose, and scandalous persons, as well of the Clergy as others, who are so farre from afflicting their soules, and loosing the bands of wick-

wickednesse, as that they provoke the wrath of Almighty God, and make so pious a meanes to procure his blessings, the occasion of greater Judgements.

For the prevention whereof for the time to come, the Lords and Commons doe Order, Declare, Ordaine, that in all and every the Cathedrals, Collegiate, and Parish Churches, and Chappels within the Kingdome of England, and Dominion of Wales, (without any exception) upon every Lords day, next and immediately before any the dates appointed for the said publike Fast, the Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Minister, that upon that day shall Officiate, or exercise in any of the said Cathedrals, Collegiate, Parish Churches, or Chappels, shall give publike notice in every of the said Cathedrals, Collegiate, Parish Churches, or Chappels respectively, of the Fast day next ensuing immediately after Sermon or Prayer ended in the forenoon before the Congregation be dismissed, earnestly exhorting and perswading all the people to the solemne due keeping and religious observation of the whole day appointed for the said Fast, and that they would repaire to some Church or Chappell, there diligently and reverently to attend all such holy Duties as shall be used in the observance of the same; that they forbeare to use all manner of Sports and Pastimes whatsoever, and their ordinary Trades and Callings upon the said day, as well Carriers, Waggoners, Carters, Waynmen, Drovers, Butchers, Hucksters, Shop-keepers, Labourers, or any others using any Art, Trade, Mystery, or Manuall Occupation whatsoever, and that all Vintners, Taverners, Alehouse-keepers, and keepers of victualling-houses, doe forbeare to keep open their Doors, Bulks, or Shops, or to sell or utter (except in cases

cases of extreme necessity) any Wine, Beere, Ale, or victuall, till the publike Exercises and religious duties of that day in the respective Cathedrals, Collegiate, Parish Churches and Chappels be past and over.

And lastly, all and every the Justices of the Peace, Maiors, Bayliffes, Constables, Churchwardens, and other Officers inhabiting or residing within the limits or precincts of any such Cathedrall, Collegiate, Parish Church or Chappell, are hereby required to take speciall notice as well of such Parson, Vicar, Curate, or other Minister that ought to officiate in any of the said Cathedrals, Collegiate, and Parish Churches or Chappels, upon any such day appointed for the said Fast, that shall either refuse or neglect to doe the same, or not doe or cause the same to be done in that religious and solemne manner as it ought to be, or that shall refuse to give notice of the Fast day at the time, and in manner aforesaid, and forthwith to returne their names, and the names of all such (from time to time) as shall wilfully offend herein, in contempt of the Lawes, His Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament, unto some one or more of the Knights, Citizens, or Burgesses that serve for the County where such offence is or shall be committed, that some speedy course may be taken for the severe punishing of such as shall offend herein, according to the Lawes.

Jo. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

Wherein

WHereas the Lords and Commons in Parliament, have made an Ordinance for the more strict and solemne keeping of the dayes of publike Fast, which are not by all persons duly observed, even in these times of publike Calamity, to the great dishonor of God, and the contempt of the Authority of both Houses of Parliament.

Now that more particular notice may be given to all such that shall offend herein, before any exemplary punishment be inflicted upon them, It is Ordered by the Commons now Assembled in Parliament, that all Constables (or their Deputies) shall the day before every publike Fast, repaire to every house within their severall and respective Liberties, and charge all persons, that they strictly observe the Fast, according to the directions of the said Ordinance.

And the said Constables upon the said dayes of the publike Fast, are hereby required to make diligent search for, and to take the names of all persons who either by following the worke of their callings or resorting to Taverns, Victualing-houses, or Alehouses, or otherwise, shall not duly observe the same, and they are hereby required, to return the names of all such persons as they shall finde so offending, as also such Informations as they shall receive against any other persons within their severall limits, that shall not obey the said Ordinance, unto the Committee for Examinations, that they may proceed against for the contempt of the said Ordinance. And all Constables, &c. to observe these directions, from time to time, so long as this Ordinance shall be in force, without expecting any further Order.

H. Elsynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

FINIS.

A

LETTER

From

NEWCASTLE,

To the Right Honourable the Lord High Chancellour of *Scotland*, and the reſt of the Scotiſh Commiſſioners at *London*.

Containing a RELATION of the taking of the Town of

NEWCASTLE

By Storm.

Dated the 19 *of* October, 1644.

Publiſhed by Authority.

London, Printed for *Robert Boſtock* and *Samuel Gellibrand*, *Octob.* 26. 1644.

A

LETTER

From

NEWCASTLE

To the Right Honourable

Lord High Chancellor

and the rest of the

Commissioners at Lambeth.

Containing a Relation of the

NEWCASTLE

Dated the 19 of October, 1648.

Right Honourable,

I Should have gone into *Newcaſtle* at the time when the Packet went from hence, on Thurſday, but was put off till Friday by theſe obſtinat miſchreants, eſpecially the Maior of that Town. Sir *David Hume*, *John Ratierſard* of *Fedburgh*, and I, went in on Friday at nine in the morning; we had Commiſſion from the Generall and Committee (if we found reall dealing) to yeeld to all honourable Conditions, for preventing the effuſion of blood, notwithſtanding all the Provocations we had from them. The Maior, Sir *Nicholas Cole*, and Sir *George Baker* were treating with us: they gave us big words: do what we could, they would not ſo much as come to ſpeak of Conditions of rendring up the Town: And, after three or four hours Debate, all they would condeſcend unto, was, To think upon their Propoſitions, and ſend them to the Generall within three dayes; one of which Propoſitions to be as they ammed, and Mordieus adhered unto: That when all Conditions were agreed upon, they ſhould give Hoſtages for delivery up of the Town

after twenty days, if Relief came not to them. And becauſe we who were commiſſionated from the Army, were limited to Friday at night, to conclude or give over Treatie, we deſired them to write to the Generall, to know his minde concerning thoſe delays', and we ſhould either ſtay till his Excellencies Anſwer did come, or would carry it, and return, if we had further Commiſſion. They would not grant this favour to us; but told us, They would let us go, and they ſhould write to the Generall to morrow. I went thus far on with them, which was more then in Policie I ſhould have done: yet ſo fain would I have effuſion of bloud ſhunnd, that I told them in plain terms, That if they did write any thing, it ſhould be that night. They ſent out a Letter that night, about eight of the clock, wherein they averred many untruths, and told, They would ſend their Propoſitions on Munday next. It was late before many of us could be got together, to give Anſwer: Thoſe who met, thought it fitteſt to return an Anſwer, and to ſend ſuch Conditions as we would grant; and to certifie them, That if they did not accept them, and ſend out Hoſtages for performance, the Generall would no more treat. The ſubſtance of the Conditions were:

1 *That all Officers and Souldiers who are deſirous to go out of Town, ſhould have liberty to go with Arms, Bag and Baggage, to any Garriſon not beleaguered, within ſixty miles;*

miles; and should have a Convoy of Waggons, and meat on the way.

2 *That all Strangers, Sojourners, or Inhabitants, who desired to go with the Souldiers, should have the like Liberty and Accommodation.*

3 *The Town shall enjoy their Priviledges and Jurisdiction, conform to their ancient Charters.*

4 *The Persons, Houses, Families and Goods of the Citizens and Inhabitants should be free and protected from violence.*

5 *They should have their free Trade and Commerce, as other Towns reduced to the Obedience of the King and Parliament.*

6 *That any of them who desired to go into the Countrey, and live in their Countrey-houses, should have safeguard for their Persons, Families, Goods and Houses.*

7 *That no free Billetting shall be imposed on them, without their own consent.*

8 *The Army should not enter the Town, but onely a Competent Garison.*

I have

I have not the perfect copie of the other Instructions sent to them, which was signed by the Generall, with that caveat, That they should send out Hostages this day, at eight in the morning, for the surrender of the Town upon these Conditions, betwixt this and Munday the one and twentieth, before two in the afternoon, otherwise the Conditions to be void. In stead of sending out Hostages, or desiring a new Treaty, this morning they sent a bitter Invective-Letter, standing to their former Resolutions. We had been so long expecting that these men within the Town should have pitied themselves, all our Batteries were ready; so many of our Mynes as they had not found out or drowned, were in danger of their hourly finding out; the Winter was drawing on, and our Souldiers were earnest to have some end of the businesse; which made the Generall (after so many slightings) to begin this morning to make Breaches: (whereof we had three, and four Mynes) the Breaches were made reasonable low before three of the clock at night. All our Mynes played very well. They within the Town continued still obstinate: My Lord *Chancellors* Regiment, and *Ackleughs*, entred at a Breach at *Close-gate*: The Generall of the Artillery his Regiment, and that of *Edinburgh*, entered at a Myne at the *White-Tower*. Colonel *Stewart* and *Gask* Regiment, entered at a Myne, after hot dispute, beside *West-Gate*: this was one Quarter: Lieutenant-Generall *Baylie* had another Quarter at *New-Gate*, with five Regiments, viz.

viz. his own(which was formerly *Dudhops*)*Waughtons*, *Cowpers*, *Dumferlings*, and who entred by a Breach : Great dispute was made here, and some of our Officers killed, whereof one Major *Robert Hepburn* cannot be enough lamented. *Cassilis*, *Kelhead*, *Wedderburne*, *Marshall*, and the Master of *Yesters*, had a third Quarter, who entred by a Breach, not without dispute. Lord *Sinclare*, *Ayteun*, *Niddery*, the Master of *Cranstoun*, and the Lord *Levingston*, had the fourth Quarter, who entred at two Mynes. They would have had more hot work, but the Resolutions of the Officers and Souldiers made a quick dispatch. They within the Town made all the Opposition they could, on the Walls, and in the Streets. Some houses are burnt. The Maior and some others fled to the Castle, and did presently beat a Parley, which the Generall would not hear, at that time, in respect they had been the instruments of so much bloodshed. The Lord *Rae*, and some others of our countrey-men, are prisoners with us. You shall hear more particularly, within a day or two, by an Expresse.

Octob. 19. 1644. *Your Lordships humble servant*,
A. Humble.

FINIS.

A TRUE RELATION

Of the taking of

NEW CASTLE,

By the Scots by storm, on the 19. of October, 1644.

As it was certified to a worthy Member of the House of *Commons*, from one of the *Commissioners* there: and from another Gentleman, both which were eye-witnesses of it.

Together with a true Relation of the state of *Tinmouth Castle*, and of the plague in it, and that it is likely shortly to be surrendred.

Octob: 26 LONDON,
Printed for *Ben: Allen* in *Popes head Alley*.
1644.

PRINTED

A true Relation of the taking of Newcastle.

SIR,

I Hope you will excuse my long silence, which hath not proceeded from any unmindfulnes, or want of respect to you, but from want of opportunity, being so much pressed With businesse: Wee are but lately returned from setling *Cumberland* and *Westmerland*, and now happily come to the taking in of *Newcastle*, at which action wee were this day present, and were witnesses of a great deal of gallantry shewed by thy the Souldiers on both sides, in hot service. That unhappy man, the Major, who these three or four daies hath treated only for advantage, (three Commissioners from the Army being yesterday sent into the Town to treat upon their sending forth of Hostages, after almost a dayes debate, broke off, and returned without hope of obtaining it upon any peaceable termes:) this morning the Major sent forth a Drummer with a letter, enjoyning him to deliver it with his own hand to Generall *Leven*, if there were such a man in the world; for he did beleeve he

was dead. The Generall returned him answer by the Messenger, hee hoped to doe him some service yet before he died. This morning after our Batteries began to play, they jeered our men from the town, bidding them, *Come on you cowardly rogues, if you dare*, who before night were glad to sing another song, & crave quarter for their lives. We made 3 breaches in the walls with Cannon, and immediatly after sprung four mines; all which took well: and thereupon entred them all at once. The Major and Scotch Lords are got into the Castle, and have sent to crave quarter. Our footmen are in the town, our horse keep guard without this night; and to morrow (God willing) wee intend to goe in with my Lord Generall, to give praise to God in the Churches. It is late, and we but newly come from the service, so I must hasten to make an end. I refer you further to our letter to Mr. Speaker.

Benwel Octob. 19. 1644.

Your assured loving friend
to serve you

R. F.

Another Relation of the taking of *Newcastle*, sent in a letter to a Member of the House of *Commons*.

SIR,

AFter our unfortunate Major had refused all proffers of honour to himselfe and Towne, this day about two of the clock in the afternoone, the Lord General commanded his men to fall on, where they had made breaches, and spring mines, which they did very resolutely and gallantly, God was with them, for they were never put to any retreate in any place, I saw them all the time, being with my L. generall, for the most part of the Storm. The Major took the Castle for a sanctuarie and tooke downe his flaming flags, and put up the white, then the souldiers laid downe their Armes and Colours, and left them, and so they are possessed of the Town: And the Major hath sent to the Lord Generall to render the parsons, from the new gate to the close gate: I am perswaded not one hundred men slaine, what more of ours in other parts or in towne I know not, and what of theirs; I thought once

once to have gone into towne this night, but durſt not, till the Storme was wholly allayed: To morrow I intend to waite on his Excellencie and Sir *William Armine* to give God thanks for this great gaine, being the conſiderableſt place in the Kingdom for the Parliament.

The Storme laſted two houres or thereabouts, it was very hott and managed bravely, on both parts till the Towne was over maſtered: I forbeare to enlarge wiſhing God may give us thankfull hearts that our and Gods malicious and malignant enemies are thus happily entrapped, howſoever all my goods they are like to bee a prey to the ſouldiers as well as others, in common judgement there is ſeldome difference; I have not any manner of thing out of towne, yet I am happie God made me a ſpectator of the fall of thoſe wicked men who were borne to ruinate ſo famous a towne, the Majors houſe or ſome other adjoyning are burning, yet my Lord General hath given order for the ſtaying off the fire if poſſible. The Poſt ſtayeth I may not enlarge, ſo with my love to your good Wife and Henery Dawſon his Wife and miſtreſſe Fenick, I reſt

your ever loving friend *E. M.*

From *Benwell* within a mile of
New Caſtle October 19. 1644.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TInmouth Caſtle (as appeares by a letter ſent from Sir *Thomas Riddles* junior, to Sir *Thomas Glenham* governour of Carlile, which letter was entercepted) wherein he certifies that the Plague hath broke out within the Caſtle, 8. men are dead, and 60. more infected, who are put into Lodges in the fields, and the chiefe Chiurgeon there dangerouſly ſicke, who I hear is ſince dead, ſo as it is conceived moſt of the reſt that are in the Caſtle will run away, becauſe of the infection.

Your aſſured loving freind G. F.

T

Dear affured loving friend C. F.

Innocencies Triumph.

OR

AN ANSVVER

TO THE BACK-PART OF

A Discourse lately published by *William Prynne*, Esquire, intituled, *A full Reply, &c.* The said *Back-part* beginning at the foot of *pag.* 17. with this Superscription; *Certain briefe Animadversions on* Mr. JOHN GOODVVINS *Theomachia*, &c.

PROV. 29. 26.

Many seek the Rulers favour: but every mans judgement cometh from the Lord.

Yee are the salt of the earth: if the salt hath lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and troden under foot by men. Matth. 5. 13.

Veritati nemo potest præscribere, non spacia temporum, non patrocinia personarum. Tertull.

Bene instituti, accipere plagam malunt, quàm turpitur vitare. Cic.

Sunt qui volunt verum esse quod credunt, sed nolunt credere quod verum est.

Ungentem pungit———

By JOHN GOODVVIN, *Pastor of the Church in Colemanstreet.*

Published by Authoritie.

LONDON;
Printed for *Henry Overton*, in *Popes-head Alley.* 1644.



A BRIEFE ANSWER TO CERTAIN BRIEFE OBSERVATIONS

Upon my late booke, intituled *THEOMACHIA*,

By WILLIAM PRINNE, Esquire,
in Justification of some passages
in his Independency, &c.

Come now, and let us reason together (saith the Lord himself to his people, *Esa.* 1.18.) If the learned Gentleman, the Author of the mentioned Observations, would vouchsafe that courtesie to himself and me, that we might *reason together* the points in difference between us, without either undue aspersing one the other, or wresting the sayings one of another, or exasperating those that stand by to behold the encounter, against one another; he were a man with whom I could willingly live and die; yea and could make treasure of the least interest that should be vouchsafed unto me in his acquaintance. For my part, I trust, that thorough his Grace who hath commanded me, *not to be overcome of evill, but to overcome evill with good*, I shall be able to carry along my Answer without any of those miscarriages: but whether my Antagonist hath steer'd the course of this Christian equitie and fairnesse in his *Observations*, the first part of this Answer shall informe: In the latter, the strength of his reasonings shall have a faire and Christian Triall.

To begin with that, wherewith he ends, (which yet was the beginning of the whole systeme of this discourse against me; for that which is *ultimum in executione*, is still *primum in intentione*. Whereas he incenseth the Parliament against me, as one *that hath presumptuously undermined the undoubted priviledges thereof by the very roots*; *and with all chargeth me with several Anti-Parliamentary passages, diametrally contrary to my National Vow and Covenant*; yea and (that which is the first-born of all his bitter and bloudy insinuations against me) preacheth this Doctrine to the Parliament, that *they cannot without high sin any way permit any wilfully thus to violate their Priviledges in the most publique manner*; I answer,

1. That I have no wayes *undermined* (least of all, done any such thing *presumptuously*) any *undoubted priviledge of Parliament*, but have from the first to the last, with all uprightnesse and singlenesse of heart, as in the presence of God, with all my might, and all my strength, by Preaching, Writing, Conference, and otherwise, endevoured to assert and vindicate the Authoritie, power, and priviledges of Parliament, to the utmost height I was able by the most diligent and unpartiall contemplation to discerne their elevation. If I have not been, or yet am not so quick-sighted, or so able of discerning to take their true altitude and height, as some others, I trust this weaknesse and incapacitie in my judgement and understanding, may be atoned with a more gentle sacrifice, then to be arraigned as a *presumptuous underminer of the undoubted priviledges of Parliament*, or to suffer after the insupportable rate of such a charge. If I have denied the least dram or scruple of that Power, which is truly Parliamentary and consistent with the word of the great and glorious God (of which misdemeanor I am not in the least measure conscious to my self, as yet) I most seriously and solemnly professe in the presence of this God (my conscience bearing me witnesse in the Holy Ghost, that I lie not) that I did it out of a loving, tender, and affectionate jealousie over the Parliament, lest possibly they might dash their foot against that Stone, by which all Rule, and all Authoritie and power, will one day be broken in pieces. So that if either my tongue or pen have in the least miscarried upon that point, I may truly say that it was, *Error amoris*, not *amor erroris*, which caused that miscarriage. I confesse I am in the habituall and standing frame of my heart and spirit,

tender

tender and jealous over all the world, and much more over those who are deare unto me, but most of all over those who being deare unto me, are likewise more exposed then others unto the tentation and danger of the sin; extreamly jealous and tender (I say) I am over such, lest they should touch with any title or claime the most sacred and incommunicable royalties and priviledges of Heaven, and so count it no robbery to make themselves equall to God; knowing most assuredly, that this is a high provocation in the eyes of the most High, and if continued in, will kindle a fire in the brest of him whose Name is *Jealous*, which will consume and devoure.

But 2. positively to determine and judge, That I should transgresse the transgression charged upon me, *presumptuously*, is little lesse then to claime part and fellowship with God himselfe in the incommunicable property and priviledge of his *Omniscience*, or heart-searching. It is to the heighth of the line of the greatest and wisest of men, positively to determine and conclude that to be a sin, which men of excellent and singular endowments as well of grace and Holiness, as of Learning, Judgment, and Understanding, (and these not a few) have not only demurr'd upon, whether it be a sin, or no; but (many of them) upon grounds and reasons of very noble and considerable importance, determined the case *in oppositum*, concluding the fact in Question to be no sin: but to determine and conclude further, that hee that hath done such a thing, hath not only sinn'd, but sinn'd with such or such a frame of heart, or upon such and such terms as are secret, and discernible only by God (as wilfulness and presumption in sinning, for the most part are) is to magnifie a mans selfe above all that is called man, and to set himself down in Gods Throne.

3. In case it could be prov'd that I have either said or written any thing derogatory to the *undoubted priviledges of Parliament*, yet that I should do either, *wilfully* or *presumptuously*, (as the tenour of my endictment runs from the fore-named pen) is such a charge which men, whose ungrounded zeal hath not eaten out the heart of their charity, cannot lightly but re-charge with unreasonableness, and utter unlikelihood of truth; and that upon these two grounds, (besides many others:)

1. Because the uninterrupted and constant tenour of my de-

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1. Because the uninterrupted and constant tenour of my de-

portment and carriage from the beginning of this Parliament, untill this hour, hath been fully Parliamentary. If I should boast, that to my power, *I have not been behinde the very greatest* of those, that have built up the Parliamentary cause with the highest hand, and with the loyallest heart; I know that I should not be ashamed in this behalf. Some of my Adversaries themselves in place, have given a large testimony of my faithfulnesse and diligence in this kind. Now, as the Poet saith, *Nemo repentè fuit turpissimus*: It is the most unreasonable and incredible thing under Heaven, that a man on the sudden, within the space of a day, and lesse, without any cause or provocation given, should of a friend deeply ingaged, and firmly resolved for the Parliament, be transformed into a *presumptuous and wilfull underminer of their undoubted Priviledges.*

II. The Grounds and Reasons which I have given in by way of account for that opinion, which is the great strife-maker between the Gentlemans pen and mine (together with many others ingaged in the same warfare, and which are in every mans hand; particularly the ten Reason propounded and argued in a Treatise not long since published, called *M. S.* to *A. S.* p. 56, 57, &c. which have not been answered hitherto, no, not so much as with Answers so called; and which the Gentleman could not lightly think, but that I should have seen) being of that weight, and worthy that consideration which many sober and knowing men acknowledge, cannot but in the thoughts and apprehensions of all reasonable men, justifie me, at least from any *presumptuous* or *wilfull undermining the undoubted Priviledges of Parliament* thereby.

4. How can the Gentleman call that *a good pen* (as hee doth mine, *p.* 23. *l.* 4.) which is a *presumptuous and wilfull underminer of the undoubted Priviledges of Parliament?* is not his pen of the conspiracy, and made an accessary, by giving such a testimony to the principall?

5. Whereas he chargeth me, with I know not how many *Anti-Parliamentary passages, diametrally opposite to the nationall Vow and Covenant*, but instanceth in none, save only that, wherein himself was touch'd, and that (God knoweth) very gently, and with far more honour then censure, I answer; that certainly no part or passage of the *Covenant*, did intend(a) that any man should obliege himself by oath or otherwise, either unto God or man, to maintain either

(a) *Omnis lex obligat secundum rectam voluntatem legislatoris obligantis.*

either such a Power or such Priviledges, as the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, which he sees no sufficient ground or reason to call or judge such, at least, that he should maintain them for such, during this state and posture of his judgement & conscience; because this had been to require of men, that they would ingage themselves by Oath and Covenant to sin; which intention, if any such had been in those that imposed the Covenant, had been *diametrally* opposite to the end of the Covenant it self, which was the safety, benefit and blessing of God upon the three kingdomes; yea, that supreme Authority it self, from which the Covenant issued with an injunction to have it generally taken, gave liberty of interpretation thereof, both unto the Ministers, who were to explain it unto, as well as to presse it upon the people; and likewise unto those who were respectively required to take it. Without which liberty of interpretation, evident it is to those that converse with men, that many thousands would have refused it, who have now submitted themselves and their consciences unto it. So that the Gentleman doth but beat the aire in this charge of *Anti-Parliamentary passages diametrally contrary to the Nationall Vow and Covenant*: He hath not as yet proved any one passage of mine to be so much as *Anti-Parliamentary*; much lesse any *diametrally contrary to that Vow and Covenant*.

Surely the Divines and Commissioners of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, who were accessaries, if not principalls in the first penning of the *Covenant*, must needs be presum'd to know the intent & meaning of it, aswell as any other: and yet they publikely, and in print, profess and maintain the same doctrine (for substance, as will presently appear) for wch I am cast at the barre of Mr. *Prinne's* tribunall, as one of the greatest delinquents throughout the whole kingdome.

6. (And lastly, for those lines mentioned) whereas he seeks to baptize the Parliament into a spirit of much severity against mee, by suggesting to them, *that they cannot without highest perjury permit any thus wilfully to violate their Priviledges, &c.* I answer, and subscribe to him with both my hands; they *cannot* indeed *without sin permit any wilfull violation of their undoubted priviledges*: nor do I desire, nor have I any need or occasion to desire of them, that they should dispence with so sacred an obligation upon them for my sake. Let either Mr *Prynne*, or any other, evict me of any *wilfull violation of those Priviledges*, and no man shall be more ready then I, *to crave their pardon*, or else *to undergo their justice*; nay, if I shall be convinced of any *violation* at all of *those Priviledges*, *wilfull* or *unwilfull*, (and I shall be as willing as willingnesse it self can make me, to further such a conviction all that may be) I shall repent my self, and abhorre mine error in dust and ashes. I should be the maddest worme under heaven, to give offence to that foot which

which is ſo able to cruſh me, if I had not full conſideration for the hazard I run thereby in mine own ſoul.

But as concerning that Opinion or Doctrine, which Mr. *Prynne* burthens with *Anti-Parliamentariſme*, and whereby I am charged *preſumptuouſly to undermine the undoubted priviledges of Parliament by the very roots*; I deſire both him and all the world, to conſider, whether it hath not a great concurrence, of the judgements and conſciences of men of greateſt worth and learning; yea, of whole Nationall Churches in their authorized writings; yea, whether the ſubſtance and import of it to the full, yea, and more in this kinde then I have ever ſaid, or printed, or think ſafe or fitting to ſay, hath not been publikely, and in print delivered amongſt us, by perſons no wayes ſuſpected of *Anti-Parliamentarineſſe* in any kinde; yea, and in ſuch bookes, for which the Author (if hee miſtakes not in caſting up the accompt of his own thanks and praiſes) hath had large conſiderations in both from many Parliament men.

I begin at home; and appeal to any man of unpartiall thoughts, whether theſe enſuing paſſages faithfully tranſcribed out of that much admired piece, intituled, *Antapologia*, ſet forth by Mr. *Th. Edwards*, do not contain, and that *ſecundum ſub & ſupra* (as the Schoolmen ſpeake) the heighth and depth of that Doctrine, for which I muſt not be innocent, except the Parliament means to be *guilty of perjury, and that of the higheſt.*

Pag. 163. He affirmes, that *Junius, Zanchius, Ameſius*, &c. *make the ſubject matter of Politicall adminiſtration to be*, res humanæ, *humane things and matters*; *but of Eccleſiaſticall, Divine, and Sacred*, &c. Again, *p.* 166. of this ſame Diſcourſe, hee hath this paſſage: Or, 3. *Is it that you do give a power to the Magiſtrate in Eccleſiaſticall things, of the* ultimate determination *of matters purely Eccleſiaſticall, which the Presbyterians principles do not, as in matters of Doctrine, Scandall*, &c.

Yet again, *p.* 168. *When the Queſtion is of Church matters, and matters of conſcience, and of the inner-man, and of the Kingdome of Chriſt, the remedies and meanes appointed for theſe are Spirituall and Eccleſiaſticall*, viz. *ſpirituall puniſhments*; Chriſt ſaith, *My Kingdome is not of this world*, &c. and the Apoſtle, 2 Cor. 10. 3, 4, 5. *The weapons of our warfare are not carnall*, &c. *Spirituall remedies and*

means

means muſt be uſed in the Kingdome of Chriſt, and by them Chriſt doth his work. And hence in Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline, and thoſe ſcandalls in the Church, which are the point in hand; puniſhments in the body, or in the purſe, *which can be by the power of the Magiſtrate, have no place.*

Again, *p.* 170. *Firſt, there be many ſins and errors, which the Chriſtian Magiſtrate meddles not with, are not matters of his cognizance, if you would have recourſe unto him:* Or, *if the ſentence of non-communion be pronounced againſt a Church, becauſe of impenitency in them, he hath nothing to do to aſſiſt or back it, &c.* According to the tenor of this Doctrine, the civill Magiſtrate hath nothing to do, to fortifie or *back any ſentence*, determination, or decree of the Church:

Yet again, *p.* 174. of the ſame Treatiſe: *Hath not the wiſdome of Chriſt provided remedies in the Church, for all the internall neceſſities of the Church, and conſtituted it a perfect body within it ſelf?*

Again, *p.* 256. Hee ſpeaketh plainly, and ſpeaketh no Parable; that *the Parliament interpoſeth no Authority to determine what Government ſhall be*; therefore his opinion appeares to be either that the Parliament hath no *Authority*, or at leaſt intends not to make uſe of it in determining a Government.

Page 74. of the ſame Diſcourſe, he preſents *Cameron* allowing *the Church a power to ordain and appoint Rites, &c.* but with this caution and proviſo: *dum tamen nihil officiant aut ſinceritati doctrinæ, aut libertati conſcientiæ*; *cui propriè leges præſcribit non niſi Deus*, i. upon condition that they neither prejudice the ſoundneſſe of Doctrine, nor the liberty of mens conſciences; unto which God himſelfe alone properly is the Law-giver.

Page 170. He cites this teſtimony in the margine out of *Zanchy*, and that with full approbation of the contents of it (a) *Moreover, there are many evills which the Chriſtian Magiſtrate is not wont to meddle with by way of puniſhment, nor yet is bound by his Lawes to do it, as private quarrells, and heart-burnings between man and man, partaking with Idolaters in an impious or unlawfull worſhip, diſſembling the true Religion*; *and to conclude, there are many evill carriages, both private and publike, which do not trouble or diſturb either the publike peace, or honeſty, and the publike profit. The Church indeed ought not to ſuffer theſe, but to reforme them according to Chriſts inſtitution, &c.*

(a) Adhæc, multa etiam ſunt ſcelera, in quæ ne Magiſtratus quidem Chriſtianus animadvertere ſolet, aut tenetur ex legibus ſuis, veluti ſunt privatæ inimicitiæ, ſimultates, participatio cũ Idololatris in aliquo impio cultu, diſſimulatio veræ Religionis: denique multi mali mores, tum domeſtici tum publici, qui non turbant aut pacem publicam, aut honeſtatem, & commodum publicum Eccleſiæ ne iſta quidem ferre debet, ſed corrigere juxta Chriſti inſtitutum. *Zanch.* de Diſcip Eccleſiaſt.

But

But lastly for this Domestique Author, whose judgement and abilities for the cause he undertakes, I finde so much magnified, he hath a saying, *pag.* 169. of the fore-mentioned Treatise, dishonourable indeed (in my apprehension) to the Civill Magistrate, and wherein I can at no hand subscribe unto him. *The power of the Magistrate* (saith he) *by which he punisheth sin, doth not subserve to the Kingdome of Christ the Mediator.* I conceive farre otherwise of *this power*, and that the maine end and most excellent use of it, consists in a *subserviency to the Kingdome of Christ the Mediator.* The most noble exercise and imployment of civill power, is (doubtlesse) to provide for the immunitie and peace of the Saints within their jurisdictions, to protect them against all injuries and violence of men, by Edicts, Statutes, and Lawes, with the due administration and execution of them, to provide that such *may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honestie* (as the Apostle speaketh) that *the Gospel may run* freely, and without interruption, (and *be glorified*, if God shall vouchsafe to prosper the ministery of it accordingly) thoroughout their dominions. In a word, whatsoever maketh for the benefit, safetie, and honour of the whole Communitie and Societie of persons fearing God within the limits of their jurisdiction, without the pressure or just grievance of others, the Civill Magistrate (I conceive) hath not onely a power, but a necessitie by way of dutie lying upon him, to interpose for the procuring and establishing of such things. Of this nature were all those ingagements, *Statutes, and Decrees*, of *Cyrus, Artaxerxes, Darius, and other heathen Princes and Magistrates, for the building of Gods Temple, and advancement of his worship*, which Mr. *Prinne* insists upon, *p.* 23. but quite besides the point in difference between him and me. For these *Princes and Magistrates* did not by any of their *Statutes or Decrees*, impose any thing upon the people of God in point of worship under mulcts and penalties, much lesse did they so impose any thing upon the generalitie of them, which was controversiall, and matter of conscience between them, by means of which imposition the one half of them should have been gratified, and the other half ruin'd and oppressed. But those Statutes and Decrees equally respected the common and publique good of them all, and contained nothing oppressive to the judgements or consciences of any, nor any new determination of any thing appertaining

1 Tim. 2. 2.

pertaining to the *worſhip and ſervice of God*, under *mulcts and penalties.*

But concerning the point which is made matter of ſuch high accuſation againſt me, beſides the judgement of Mr. *Edwards*, ſo ſignificantly and expreſly, and that over and over, concurring therein, there are other Authors of our owne, who have every whit *as publique a manner* as I held forth the ſame unto the world, and that without the leaſt check or controulement by any, that ever I (or I think any man elſe) heard of. *All the chiefe Writers of our age* (ſaith Mr. Hayward [a]) *are now reduced to the former opinion, affirming with Arnobius that Religion is of power ſufficient for it ſelf: with Tertullian, Lactantius, Caſſiodorus, Joſephus, Bernard, and others, that Religion muſt be perſwaded, not inforced.* And that is moſt remarkable in this teſtimony, that the Author therein affirms, that this opinion againſt the *inforcing of Religion*, was both the ancient opinion in the Church of God, and is now againe become the generall opinion of *the beſt Writers in our age.* The ſame Author in the ſame Chapter (ſomewhat before the words laſt cited) lays downe theſe as Maximes or common rules; That *it is fooliſh to adde externall ſtay, to that which is ſufficient to ſupport it ſelf*; That *it is ſenſleſſe to attempt that by force, which no force is able to effect*; That *that which hath a proper rule, muſt not be directed by any other.*

(a) *Hayward* in his anſwer to *R. Dolman*, dedicated to King *James*, cap. 9.

Biſhop *Jewel*, in his Anſwer to *Hardings* Confutation, *pag.* 432. hath this ſaying to him; *As for our part, we were never yet guiltie to one drop of your bloud: we ſeek no aid at fire or ſword.* Let this Text be truly interpreted, and it will afford the ſame doctrine with mine.

The Divines of the Church of *Scotland*, Diſcipl. lib. 2. p. 89. write thus: *The Nationall aſſemblies ought alwayes to be received in their own liberty and have their own place — And all men, as well Magiſtrate as inferiours, to be ſubject to the judgement of the ſame in Eccleſiaſticall cauſes without any reclamation or appellation to any Judge Civill or Eccleſiaſticall, within the Realme.*

And again, p. 71. of the ſame Book; *The Magiſtrate neither ought to preach, miniſter the Sacraments, nor execute the cenſures of the Kirk,*

nor yet preſcribe any rule how it ſhould be done,

but command the Ministers to observe the rule commanded in the Word, and punish transgressors by civill means.— *The Magistrate* OUGHT *to assist, maintaine, and fortifie the Jurisdiction of the Kirk: the Ministers* SHOULD *assist their Princes.*

The same Divines in another book of theirs, called *A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland*; p. 146. write thus: *Now therefore, wee firmly hold, that the Prince may not innovate any Custome or Rite of the Church, nor* publish any Ecclesiasticall Law, *without the free assent of the Clergie, &c. yea, further, that so far as is possible, the consent of the whole Church ought to be had, whensoever any change is to be made of some Order or Custome in the Church.* A few lines after, *p.* 147. they cite this saying (with approbation) out of *Baldus* De Cas. Consc. l. 4. c. 11. Cas. 2. *They who were Orthodox did ever withstand such a Magistrate as would have by his commandments tied the Church to that which was burthensome to their consciences.* And yet again in the same *page: It belongeth to the Synod (the Clergie having the chiefe place therein to give direction and advice) not to receive and approve the definition of the Prince in things which concerne the worship of God, but it selfe to define and determine what Orders and Customes are fittest to be observed, &c.*

Again, *p.* 149. *The Prince may command a Synod of the Church to judge of Ecclesiasticall things and actions, and to define what Order and Policy is most convenient to be observed in divine worship*; yet he may not by himself define *and direct such matters,* nor make any Lawes *there anent.*

Again, *p.* 148. having cited much out of *Junius*, concerning the difference between the Civill and Ecclesiasticall Administration, in respect of the subject matter of either, the close of this long citation they make thus. *But humane things, wee call such duties as touch the life, the body, goods, and good name, as they are expounded in the second table of the Decalogue: for these are the things in which the whole Civill administration standeth.* Yet again, *p.* 150. *It followeth that Christ hath committed the power of judging, defining, and making Lawes about those matters,* (viz. *which concern the worship of God,* not to Magistrates, *but to the Ministers of the Church.*

Again,

Again, *p.* 150. *Surely, if it belong to Princes to define and ordain what Order and Policy ſhould be obſerved in the Church, for the orderly and right managing of the exerciſes of Gods worſhip — then muſt Princes take alſo upon them a great part of that charge of Paſtors, to watch for the ſoules of men.* Learned M^r. *Rutherford*, one of the Commiſſioners for the Church of *Scotland*, in his late Booke, intituled, *The due Rights of Presbyteries*, part. 2. *p.* 403. writeth thus: *The King as King*, **hath not a nomothetick or Legiſlative power to make Laws in matters Eccleſiaſtique** *in a conſtitute Church, nor hath hee a definitive ſentence as a Judge.* Another paſſage hee hath to the ſame effect, *p.* 389. yea, hee profeſſedly handles, and maintaines this concluſion, that *the ordinary power of the Magiſtrate is not to make Church-Lawes*, from *page* 404. of the ſecond part of that work, to *page* 423. incluſively.

Maſter *Fox*, *Act. & Mon. p.* 1338. (of the ancient impreſſion) records this paſſage out of a book, written (as is affirmed) by that worthy Martyr, Maſter *Tyndall*, and cenſured by the Popiſh Biſhops of thoſe times, as hereticall: *The new Teſtament of Chriſt will not ſuffer any Law of compulſion, but only of counſell and exhortation.* And again, *p.* 1337. *All things neceſſary are declared in the new Teſtament: but no man is compelled, but according to their own will.*

Calvin Inſtitut. l. 4. c. 11. § 16. *denies the Church to have any compulſive power in it; yea, and denies it to be lawfull for the Church to ſeek for any ſuch power, at the hand of the civill Magiſtrate: only affirming, that it is the duty of Religious Kings and Princes to ſupport Religion, by Lawes, Edicts and Judicatories*, (viz.) of that kinde and nature, of which the Lawes, and Statutes of *Cyrus*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius*, before mentioned were.

Nam cum Eccleſia cogendi non habeat poteſtatem, neq; expetere debeat (de civili coercitione loquor) piorum Regum ac Principum partes ſunt, legibus, edictis, judiciis Religionē ſuſtentare.

Beza likewiſe in his Tractate *De Hæreticis, à magiſtr. puniendis*, *p.* 93. hath theſe words: *Condendarum enim conſcientiæ legum poteſtatem Deus nulli hominum fecit: neq; ferre poteſt quenquam hominum animis præter ſe unum dominari*; that is, God hath not given power unto any man whatſoever, to make Lawes for the conſciences of men: nor can hee indure that any but himſelf ſhould beare rule over the mindes of men.

Jacobus Acontius, a man of much piety and worth, who fled for his Conſcience, took Sanctuary at this Kingdome, in his book intituled, *Stratagemata Sathanæ*, dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth*, reprinted at *Oxford* 1631. *pag.* 166. writeth to this effect; (a) *That he* (*meaning Chriſt, in the parable of the tares*) *might provide for the ſafety of the true ſervants of God, denied all power, even to pious and prudent Magiſtrates themſelves, of puniſhing Heretiques, leſt thoſe that are impious and unwiſe, ſhould make an evill uſe of their example againſt the good ſervants of God.*

(a) Ut veroſi Dei ſervorum ſaluti conſuleret, negavit [Chriſtus] piis ac prudentib⁹ magiſtratibus in veros hæreticos animadvertendi poteſtatem, ne eorum exemplo impii atq; imprudentes in pios abuterentur Dei ſervos.

Againe, *pag.* 164. thus; (b) *The Lord verily definitively declared that Magiſtrates are not competent Judges of opinions* [in matter of Religion,] *but prohibited all ſuch juriſdiction unto them.*

(b) Dominus profectò definitè declaravit, Magiſtratus non eſſe idoneos dogmatum Judices, interdixítq; illis talis juriſdictionis uſu omni, &c.

Yet againe the ſame Author in the ſame Diſcourſe, *pag.* 165. (c) *Theſe kinds of judgements appertaine not to the Magiſtrate, but onely to the Son of God, who in the laſt day will ſeparate the tares from the wheat by his Angels.* Beſides much more to the ſame purpoſe.

(c) Hæc quidé judiciorũ genera ad Magiſtratum non pertinent, ſed ad ſolum Dei filium, qui in noviſſimo die per Angelos ſeparaturus ſit à tritico zizania.

Junius, *Controverſ.* 3. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 26. *ſect.* 12. hath theſe words; (d) *Whereas ſome things are matters of conſcience, and* (*to ſpeak with the Canoniſts*) *belong to the judicatory of Heaven; others, humane and temporall, appertaining to an earthly judicatory; the judicature of things that are ſacred, divine, and eccleſiaſtique, was never* lawfully *conſign'd or given to the Civill Magiſtrate, no not to the Emperour himſelfe; becauſe holy things are of another kingdome and cognizance.*

(d) Cum res aliæ ſunt conſciétiæ, ad forum cœli (ut cũ Canoniſtis loquamur) pertinentes, aliæ ſunt humanæ atq; βιωτικαὶ, ad forum ſoli; in rebus ſacris, divinis, eccleſiaſticis nunquam judicium Magiſtratui Civili, ac ne Imperatori quidem delatum eſt legitimè: quia res ſacræ ſunt regni & cognitionis alterius.

P. Martyr. Loc. Com. Claſ. 4. *loc.* 4. *ſect.* 1. (e) affirms, *that the judicature or judgement of ſpirituall things, ought onely to be granted unto ſpirituall men.*

(e) *As he is cited by* Apollonius, Jus Majeſtatis circa ſacra. part. 2. *p.* 161. Hinc Martyr ſcribit tantùm ſpiritualibus rerum divinarum judicia deferri oportere.

Gulielmus

Gulielmus Apollonius, a learned Miniſter in *Zealand*, and yet living, in his writings intituled, *Jus Majeſtatis circa ſacra*, is full of the Doctrine contained in the former teſtimonies. In the former part of the ſaid book, he begins his fift Chapter thus; (a) *The conſciences of men, in things purely ſpirituall, are not ſubject to the commands of men: matters of conſcience are not commanded by a coactive armed power, but to be promoted according to the nature of Chriſts kingdome, which mainly requires a willing people.* And a few lines after adds, that (b) *Chriſt alone reſerves unto himſelfe, the command and legiſlative power over his Church.*

(a) Conſcientiæ hominum in rebus, purè ſpiritualibus, non ſubjacent Imperio hominum: poteſtate coactivâ armatâ, non imperantur res conſcientiæ, quæ ſecundum naturam regni Chriſti, quod voluntarium maximè populum depoſcit, procurandæ ſunt. (b) Solo Chriſto ſibi Imperium & legiſlationem in Eccleſiam reſervante.

Againe, *pag.* 260. (c) *Therefore the power of the Magiſtrate is coactive, and commands even him that is unwilling, according to the Apoſtle,* Rom. 13. *Therefore by the Authoritie of his place, and as a Prince, he doth not interpoſe or rule in judgements concerning Religion, which are ſuaſive, and he are rule onely over him that is willing.* It were eaſie, if neceſſary, out of the writings of men of the moſt approved judgements, and greateſt abilities and worth in every kind, ſince the Reformation, to make the pile of teſtimonies, for the confirmation of the premiſes, far greater. To which alſo, if I intended any large diſcourſe, divers Authorities out of the ancient Fathers might be added; But I ſhall conclude with that of *Hierome* in *Eſa.* who expreſſeth himſelf thus; (d) *I wiſh we would kill or ſlay the ſons of heretiques, and of all thoſe that are deceived, with ſpirituall arrowes, I meane texts and teſtimonies of the Scriptures.*

(c) Poteſtas igitur Magiſtratus coacti va eſt, & involũtario etiam Imperat, juxta Apoſtolum, Rom. 13. Muneris igitur Authoritate judicia Religionis, quæ ſuaſoria ſunt, & tantum volũtario imperant, non adminiſtrat, quâ Princeps.

(d) Utinam filios hereticorum & omnium qui decepti ſunt, ſpiritualib⁹ interficiam⁹ ſagittis, i. teſtimoniis Scripturarum.

I ſhall not for the preſent make any further breach upon my Readers patience, by any further accumulation of Authors or Teſtimonies. I truſt it fully appeares by thoſe already preſented, that I have neither ſaid nor written any thing, but what for the ſubſtance, ſcope, and import of it, runs parallel with the judgements and writings of the moſt orthodox and approved Writers of all ages, both ancient and moderne, as well domeſtique as forein. In which reſpect I have a pregnant ground of much confidence, that I have not any wayes (eſpecially not *wilfully*, not *preſumptuouſly*) *violated* the leaſt of the many and great *undoubted priviledges*

ledges of Parliament, having kept my ſelfe ſo cloſe to the ſo generally received and profeſſed principles of mine owne profeſſion. The leaſt glimmering of that light, which ſhould diſcover ſuch an impious and unchriſtian miſcarriage in me as this, would be as the ſhadow of death unto me.

But beſides that grand and bloudy ſuggeſtion againſt me, that I ſhould *preſumptuouſly and wilfully undermine the undoubted Priviledges of Parliament by the very roots*, (a crime which my ſoul from the very root abhorreth) there are others of like nature, though not degree, wherewith the Gentleman hath ſtain'd his paper here and there, which will prove *dead flies* in his own box, not in mine. Hee chargeth mee, *p.* 21. that *in ſtead of my Pariſhioners, I have gathered an Independent Congregation to my ſelf, out of divers Pariſhes, and mine own; that I preſcribe a Covenant to them before they be admitted members of it: that I neglect my Pariſhioners, preaching but ſeldome unto them, though I receive their tithes.* If theſe things (or almoſt any one of them) be true, let Mr. *Prynne* keep his honour and place at the barre, and let me be hoyſted; but if otherwiſe, *contrariorum contraria ſint conſequentia.* But let me anſwer.

1. I am, and ever have been ſo far from *neglecting my Pariſhioners in preaching ſeldome to them*, that it will be acknowledged (I verily believe) by ſome hundreds of them, that ſcarce any Miniſter in or about the City, or throughout the whole kingdome, have been more diligent, laborious, frequent or conſtant, in the work of the Miniſtery, then I have been amongſt them from my firſt coming unto them, unto this day: For ſeverall yeers together (without ſome ſpeciall hinderance) I preached conſtantly thrice, often four times; ſometimes five or ſix times in a week unto them. And whereas their Covenant and agreement with mee was (under the hands of ſome of them in writing) upon my condeſcending to their requeſt, of preaching two expoſitory lectures weekly unto them, to finde me an aſſiſtant to preach once on the Lords Day, this aſſiſtant, after ſome ſhort continuance, departing to a place of better accommodation, whileſt I was able, I both continued my two weekly Lectures, and beſides preached twice unto them on the Lords Day by my ſelf, when I was able; by the ableſt I could procure, when I was not able my ſelf, notwithſtanding, I never received ſo much as a penny (to my knowledge) from

from any of them, for a whole yeares labour in preaching thoſe two weekly Lectures; nor did I receive above 12.*l.* 10. *s.* a yeere for them at any time. Since I was neceſſitated to diſcontinue theſe two weekly Lectures (for which, as I have ſaid, I received nothing for a whole yeare together, nor was likely to receive any thing any more; though this was the leaſt ground or reaſon of their diſcontinuance) I have upon the requeſt of ſome of them, and that without either promiſe or hope of any pecuniary conſideration at all from any man, ingaged my ſelf (and performed hitherto, and that with advantage) to expound ſome part of the Scripture before Sermon on the Lords day, as oft as I ſhould have libertie and opportunitie to preach my ſelf. Nor did I ever diminiſh my Pariſhioners portion in my miniſteriall labours or attendance in the leaſt, for that Congregations ſake, which the Gentleman is pleaſed to baptize by the name of *Independent*; nor did I ever preach to this Congregation apart from my Pariſhioners. Sometimes (I confeſſe) I prayed with them, and now and then debated a queſtion in mine own houſe, but ever with my doore open, and libertie given to any of the Pariſhioners to come and partake in thoſe exerciſes; which ſeverall of them have from time to time accepted of, and been preſent with us. The reaſon why I preach not to ſome of them as oft as I was wont to doe, is onely becauſe they doe not come ſo oft to heare me, as they were wont, yea my innocency in reſpect of this part of my charge, was fully atteſted under the hands of 45. of my Pariſhioners (the greateſt part, if not the whole number of them, being of the beſt affected both to Parliament and Religion in the whole Pariſh) in a Petition tendered unto the Honourable Committee, before which I was called, for my continuance with them.

2. Whereas I am charged with *receiving their tithes*; my anſwer is, that I demand no tithes of any of them; nor have I, or ever had I any right to doe it; Nor have I ever received any thing from them in the nature of tithes, but as their voluntary Contribution; For this laſt half yeere I have received very little above 20. *l.* (excepting onely the one half of the yeerly rent of a ſmall houſe, let ſometimes but for 12, never for above 14. *l.* a yeer.) Out of which ſumme, 12. *l.* 10. *s.* being deducted for the rent of my houſe, the remainder is of as low a proportion, as envie her ſelfe lightly can deſire

The Parſonage is impropriate in the Pariſhioners hands: the vicarage onely endowed with 11. *l. per Annum.*

deſire for the maintenance of a Miniſter, his wife, and 7 children, (moſt of them very ſmall) in ſuch an expenſive place as this City is. But if Mr. *Prynne* knew how ſmall a proportion of ſubſiſtence it is that I now receive, and what my labour & pains are amongſt *my Pariſhioners* notwithſtanding, I verily beleeve, that in ſtead of upbraiding me with *receiving Tithes*, he would pity me that I receive no more. It is well knowne that there are many Miniſters in and about the Citie, that receive more for preaching once a week; yea divers for preaching but once a fortnight, then I doe for preaching twice weekly, beſides my labour in expounding, not much ſhort of that in preaching; and yet I think there is no man that judgeth their conſideration greater then their work. But as for thoſe who found themſelves aggrieved, and appeared petitioners againſt me, I underſtand by the Church-warden, who gathereth that ſlender allowance wch my Pariſhioners amongſt them think me worthy of, that they have made a very provident uſe of their exceptions againſt me, and have ſav'd their purſes harmleſſe for a long time.

3. Whereas he chargeth me *to have gathered an Independent Congregation to my ſelfe out of divers Pariſhes and mine own*, I anſwer:

1. That I know not what he means by *gathering*, If his meaning be, that I have gone about from place to place (as *gathering*, eſpecially of ſeverall things into one band or bundle, imports) to deſire or perſwade any man, man or woman, rich or poore, young or old, to be of my Congregation, or to the way wherein my Congregation walketh, I utterly deny the truth of this charge. I never opened my mouth to any perſon whatſoever to any ſuch purpoſe, ſave only what I have publickly preached in the courſe of my Miniſtery in the face of my Parochiall Congregation. And what I have here ſaid in this kind, there are many hundreds, if not ſome thouſands to teſtifie. If by *gathering* ſuch a Congregation as he ſpeakes of, he means the receiving of perſons upon their Chriſtian requeſts and deſires in a Church relation, and ſo as to become a Paſtor unto them, in this ſenſe (which is yet very unproperly called a gathering) I confeſſe this part of the charge (or commendation rather) to be in part true; I have with the conſent of my Pariſhioners in a publick Veſtry, received ſome

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out of other Parishes in such a way; who yet have liberty upon request at any time (yea and without request, if they thinke not good to make it) to withdraw themselves to any other Pastor or Congregation, for their better accommodation in their spirituall affaires. Of what I have done in this, I am ready to give an account with meeknesse, unto any man that shall require it of me. But

2. Whereas I am further charged *to prescribe a covenant to them before they are admitted*, I answer, let them all be called before a Magistrate, and (if it be thought meet) examined upon oath, (though I beleeve there be very few of them but will speak the truth without any such ingagement) I doe not think there is any one of them that can say that there ever was any other covenant prescribed to them in reference to their admission, but only their consent of walking with us, and that testified by themselves (without any prescription or injunction by me or others) in their own free desire and request of comming in to us. As for those agreements that were drawn in writing in a Parish Vestry, & which were brought in by me to the Committee before which I was called, besides that I had no more an hand then divers others in the draught or forming of them, they were never urged nor pressed upon any for their admission; but whosoever expressed any desire of comming in unto us, and joyning with us, if there were any Christian ground to judge them meet for such a relation, they were without any further covenanting entertained by us.

3. (And lastly to the charge in hand) whereas hee calls this Congregation of mine, *Independent*, by way of opposition to the Parishionall Congregation; my answer is, that I cannot understand, why or wherefore the one should be termed *Independent*, more then the other. I verily beleeve, that that which is called *Independent*, depends every whit as much upon God, upon the Scriptures, upon Principles of reason and equity, as the other, and claimes as little exemption from the authority or jurisdiction of any of these, as the other. And the truth is, that *dependency* upon these, is as much (for matter of *dependencie*) as can with reason or good conscience bee required or expected from any man. Dependencie upon man, is pronounced accursed by God.

Curſed be the man that truſteth in man, and maketh fleſh his arm, Jer. 17. 5. Or if by *Independent*, he means, that which will not ſubmit in the government of it, to that which ſhall be recommended or impoſed upon it by an Eccleſiaſtique authority ſuperior to it ſelfe; I anſwer, 1. That that which beares the heat and burthen of the name, cannot as yet (however) be called ſo, more then the other; becauſe there is nothing at all yet either recommended unto, or impoſed upon either, by any ſuch authority 2. Though haply it likes not *Impoſition* ſo cordially altogether as the other, yet let that which ſhall be *impoſed*, be according to the will of God, and mind of Chriſt, if God will pleaſe to give eyes unto it, whereby to ſee it, confident I am, (and doe hereby engage my ſelfe for it as farre as my intereſt reacheth) that it will and ſhall ſubmit as willingly, as cheerfully thereunto, as the other. If he therefore aſperſeth it with the name of *Independent*, becauſe it will not ſay, *God ſpeed* to him that bringeth the Doctrine of *blind obedience* unto it; I truſt it will (I am ſure it may) ſit down by the reproach, as by its glory. I am all thoughts made with the fulleſt aſſurance, that (for the generality of them) as well the Perſons as Congregations in the land ſir-named (but far out of the propriety of the word) *Independent*, will as ſoon ſubmit to be *led by a young child* (as the Prophet ſpeaks) in a way of reaſon and truth diſcovered unto them (much more by men of wiſdome and place) as any other either Perſons or Congregations whatſoever in the land.

Whereas my learned Accuſer further taxeth me, as having refuſed to baptize ſome children, and to adminiſter the Sacrament to my Pariſh for ſome months; I anſwer,

1. That for the latter, I have done nothing in it, but what hath been done by very many godly Miniſters in and about the Citie, (as is known to thouſands) yea moſt of them (if not all) of a different judgment from mine in the point of Church government, yea ſome of them (if my memory deales faithfully) with me) of the Aſſembly it ſelfe.

2. I proffered unto that honorable Committee before whom was called, that if either themſelves, or any other would pleaſe to aſſigne me a rule by which I might ſafely walk in that adminiſtration, I ſhould be willing to take up again what I had laid down

down for a ſeaſon, and to accommodate with my Pariſhioners in that ordinance. For as for the rule preſcribed by the Rubrick in the book of Common prayer, themſelves ſeemed not ſo well ſatisfied with it.

3. For ſome of thoſe, who out of the ſmart of this ſoare petitioned againſt me, I beleeve they are ſo farre diſadvantaged by an incapacity of this ordinance, that the largeſt charity of a conſcientious Miniſter (of what judgment ſoever for Church-government) would not redeem them.

4. Whereas ſeverall Miniſters in and about the Citie, yea ſome of good report and eſteeme; nor ſhould I miſtake for matter of truth (whatever I may doe in point of good manners) if I ſhould ſay, ſome very neer related unto the Aſſembly it ſelfe, have demanded and had pretty conſiderable ſummes, ſome twenty pound, thirty pound, yea ſome fourty pound a yeare of their Pariſhioners onely for their conſent and leave that the Goſpell might be preached unto them out of their Pulpits, by ſuch a Miniſter or Lecturer as they ſhould chuſe; I have been ſo far from tying my Pariſhioners to this appletree, that I not only gave my conſent freely unto them to chuſe what Miniſter they pleaſed, either to preach or to deliver the Sacrament unto them, but further offered them twenty, thirty, yea, if it were fourty pound a year out of mine own allowance (in caſe they would ſtil continue it to their former proportion; for otherwiſe I could not be able) toward the making up a valuable conſideration unto him for his pains whom they ſhould chuſe in ſuch a way.

5. (And laſtly) for the latter; I confeſſe, that ſince my firſt comming to the place and people with whom I yet am (which wants but a little of eleven yeares compleat) I have refuſed the baptizing of two or three children of my Pariſh; but upon ſuch grounds, the opening whereof (if it were meet to publiſh them) would (I verily beleeve) make all conteſtation and complaint againſt me in this behalfe aſhamed. I feare, I have made my ſelfe a farre greater tranſgreſſor, by not refuſing, then by refuſing in this kind. And beſides, if my intelligence will beare the weight of that confidence which I lay upon it (as I think it will) in caſe ſuch omiſſions or refuſals as theſe, be juſt matter of offence, the Aſſembly it ſelf wil not in all the Presbyterian members thereof be found innocent.

The third and last grievance of which I complain in my over-offended adversary, and petition the wits and charity of men in all their conjunctions throughout the world for relieſe; is his extraction of ſo many crooked concluſions of his own out of my ſtreight premiſes. It is ſomewhat an hard caſe, when one man ſhall beget children, and another be made to keep them. Becauſe I ſay in my Epiſtle, that *there is cauſe to feare, leſt the truth, which onely is able to make us free, ſhould by being rejected and oppoſed by us, increaſe our bondage and miſery*: And becauſe I onely cite that ſaying of *Nazianzene*, p. 44. that *he never ſaw good end, or deſirable ſucceſſe of any Councell, or that they procured any decreaſe, but rather increaſe of evils*, with ſome few other as innocent and well meant ſayings as theſe, he chargeth me (p. 18. l. 1.) with *tacitly reflecting upon the preſent religious Parliament and Aſſembly, raiſing needleſſe feares and jealouſies of them both in matters of Religion and Church government, as if they really intended to increaſe our miſery and bondage, by rejecting and oppreſſing Truth.* Surely the worſt digeſtion that ever was, never made ſuch gall of ſuch honey in any mans ſtomach. I wonder what Logicall ſympathy, or Symbolicall property there is between my foundations, and Mr. *Prynnes* ſuperſtructions? They have not ſo much as a quartile aſpect the one upon the other. Becauſe I ſay, *There is cauſe to feare, leſt the truth being rejected and oppoſed, ſhould increaſe our bondage and miſery*, (which is nothing elſe but what the Scriptures themſelves will abundantly juſtifie and warrant) doth it therefore follow, that I *reflect, or raiſe needleſſe feares and jealouſies, either of Parliament, or Aſſembly?* When the Apoſtle *Paul* wrote thus to the whole Church of Corinth; *Know yee not that the unrighteous ſhall not inherit the Kingdome of God? Be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor thevves, &c. ſhall inherit the Kingdome of God*; did he reflect upon the chiefe perſons amongſt them, or *raiſe needleſſe feares and jealouſies of them* in the mindes of the reſt, as if he ſuſpected them more then others for the practice of ſuch ſins? Was it not a ſerious admonition, a cautionary doctrine that equally reſpected them all, without the leaſt accuſation of any? I doe not ſay, that *there is cauſe to feare leſt the truth ſhould be rejected* or oppreſſed by any, or any ſort or rank of perſons amongſt us; I onely profeſſe my feare, that in caſe it ſhall

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be no better intreated by us, it will increaſe our bondage and miſery, from what rank or ſort of men ſoever amongſt us it ſhall ſuffer in that kind. Such dealings as theſe with a mans harmleſſe and inoffenſive ſayings, are a temptation of like tendency and danger, with that which *David* encountred, when he reaſoned thus with himſelf; *Verily I have cleanſed my heart in vain, and waſhed my hands in innocency.* If a man had the leaſt mind to pick a quarrell againſt all faire and faultleſſe ſpeaking, and to ſpeak nothing but ſwords, and ſpears, and hot burning coals for the time to come, ſuch conſtructions as theſe are, are proper nouriſhment for ſuch an inclination to feed fat upon; yea enough to ſet the *ſmoaking flax* into a lightſome *flame*. But that God, whoſe Grace hath been ſhield and buckler unto mine innocency in this kinde hitherto, will (I truſt) protect it by the ſame hand, in the midſt of theſe and all other provocations whatſoever, untill the day of its coronation. Jeſus Chriſt did not give over his gracious occupation of caſting out Devils, becauſe ſome charged him that through *Beelzebub* he caſt them out. *Male audire, cùm benè feceris, Regium eſt.* Some other impeachments there are of like nature with this, managed againſt me in that paper, which hath interrupted my peace and ſtudies hitherto; but it is the fate of ungrounded imputations, *Spreta exoleſcunt*, they ſoone *wax old and vaniſh away*, if they be neglected.

Thus have I fairly, and (I truſt) fully acquitted my ſelfe in all things charged upon me, by way of demerit, and crime, in Mr. *Prynnes* Obſervations. What further is charg'd herein upon me by way of weakneſſe, and inſufficiency, in point of argument and reaſon; I muſt crave a few dayes reſpit, and I doubt not but I ſhall bring in a faire account of this charge alſo. As for that emptie Pamphlet, called *Faces about*; the Author of it, what *face* or *faces ſoever he had* (for it may be he carries two in a hood) it ſeemes he dares ſhew none. He feares his Name would have ſuffered, if it had been ſeen in the company of ſuch a piece. Yet the truth is, that the paper is a glaſſe, and there is the face of a man (ſuch as it is) to be ſeene in it. The man that looks out from behind the lattiſes of the lines of it, is ignorant that the Lord of glory was numbred amongſt tranſgreſſors, and crucified between two theeves:

theeves: or else he would never have thought to disparage me, by putting me into the same account with *Socinians* and *Arminians*. It is the saying of a Roman Historian: *Post Carthaginem, vinci neminem puduit*; After *Carthage* was taken by the Romans, no Citie or Nation thought it any discredit to be overcome by them. Jesus Christ being crucified with malefactors, hath spoyl'd their market, that desire to sell mens reputations under disgrace, by coupling them with names or persons of any infamous resentment whatsoever.

BRITISH MUSEUM

FINIS.



The Devills White Boyes:

OR,

A mixture of malicious Malignants, with their much evill, and manifold practises against the Kingdome and Parliament.

VVith a bottomlesse Sack-full of Knavery,

Popery, Prelacy, Policy, Trechery, Malignant Trumpery, Conspiracies, and Cruelties, filled to the top by the Malignants, laid on the shoulders of *Time*, and now by *Time* emptied forth, and powred out, to shew the Truth, and shame the Devill.



Malignants are the Divells Agents still,
The Sack is *England*, which they strive to fill
With misery and mischief, and this Sack
Full stuffe, is laid upon *Times* aged back;
Time poures it out now in an angry mood,
That all their Knaveries may be understood.

London, Printed for R. S. Octob. 26. 1644.

The Devills White Boyes,

OR,

A mixture of Malicious Malignants with their much evill, and manifold practiles against this Kingdom and Parliament.



England! how hast thou been toft and tumbled? What have thy sufferings been since this warre began? *Atlas* beares the world on his shoulders, and alas, sinne hath laid sorrow on thy back, thou hast been, O *England* a long time nothing but a medly of confusion, of murder, plunder and Malignant wickednesse, and hast like a Porter, groaned under the burden of a Sackful of knavery, ease now thy tyred shoulders, and poure out some of them to the view of the World. Before the beginning of this Parliament, thou wert divers wayes oppreſt, and many were thy greevances which thou didst suffer under great men; and how did the *Star chamber* domineere over the wrong'd Subject? what corruption and Bribery was there in the Law? what buying and selling of Justice? This Lord, and that Lord must be sollicited and sued unto, even as far as *Coventry*, or the Devill of *Dunsmore* HEATH (now with the King) that it would please their Lordships to take a Bribe to doe a poore man Justice.

There was nothing but Playing, Dancing and Masking; the Commonwealth was a tree of Pleasure, and whoring was the top branch, when the Queen-mother was here, and it is thought, the Bishops ease and good fare, made them lusty, even to beget Bastards, which they could doe with ease in their studies; they lov'd pleasure better then Preaching, and were the Hogges of our Israel, that fatted themselves with the Acornes of Spirituall Livings; Then the Judges were the Kings Parrets, and cryed out, Ship-money, Ship-money,

money, but the Subiects regarded those Judges no more then Parrats or prating Sicophants; that with the Coblers Crow, were taught to cry, *Ave Cæsar, God save the King*; Amen cry'd the people, and deliver him from such malignant Judges, that would make his Prerogative a Pick pocket; and a hand to squeese out the wealth of the Subiect, according to the Princes pleasure, that so our King might like a forreign, whom I could name, be *Rex Assinorum*, a King of English Asses, when the liberty of the Subiect should be subiect to the Tyranny of his Prerogative. These devices were then set on foot, and are now marching abroad on the Souldiers leggs in the Kings army: for what doth the Kings Army fight for? but first for an universall Tyrany, or unbounded Monarchy, that the free-borne *English* may submit themselves to Royall slavery, in token whereof, the Schollers of *Oxford* not long before these warres began, made a Play called, *The Royall Slave*, as if they had Propheseyed, that all *England* should be turn'd into a company of Royall slaves, and for this the Cavaliers fight, cut and kill the Kings Majesties Subjects, that they may conquer us into servitude, and (if they could) beat us out of our Name of Subjects, into the title of slaves, but theres no doubt, wee shall be able to baffle such knaves, that being pack't together, have shuffe'd in the King amongst them, and by their evill Counsell, have made the King like an incensed Lion against his people and Parliament. And what mad Lawes doe you imagine, if the Cavaliers were law-makers? It should be lawfull in the first place to kill any man for his money, if it were demanded, *cum privilegio*, that is by vertue of the Kings Prerogative. And the subiects should be turned into sub-jects, every great man should have a Monopoly to maintaine his pride and luxury, the Kings *Will* should be the liberty of the subiect, and my Lords will, and my Ladies will, and my Lords Secretaries will, and my Lords great Horses will must be obeyed, so that *Jack* should be in Office, and every Courtiers will, even to *Will* the Scullion in the Court Kitching, should be a King, if the Malignants could have their will.

Then for Religion, we should have superstition, Organs piping, Lawne-sleeves preaching, Bulls of *Bason* roaring, and singing Anthems, Little young Levites preaching Morallity instead of Divinity, and cringing and complementing in the Pulpit; fat Benefices, and leane Sermons, Dunces that could onely read Service, and pray for faire weather, should be Country Curates, but 'tis no matter, this Religion would serve the Malignants, who are half Epicures, half Papists, and half Atheist, and a medly of mad wickednesse, they and the Devill have been in Counsell a great while, to devise a plot how to destroy all the honest Religious Protestants in *England*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, hee sits in Counsell every day about it with *Pluto*, *Asteroth*, and the other Infernall Counsellors, but this Devillish *Counsell-Table*, cannot yet, nor never shall

be able to worke the ruine of the Protestants; No? yes the Cavaliers, the Irish, and Papists in the Kings Army will doe their endeavour, and with their swords mow them downe; there is *Digby*, and *Cottington*, and a great many Lords and Knights that are Politick Divills, that could instruct the King to undoe the Common-wealth in the times of peace, and cannot they play the Divell in the time of warre? yes, yes, no doubt, they enticed the King the head of the Parliament from the members, onely to save their own heads, and will not they incense the King to kill his true Subiects under the title of Roundheads? Come, beleeve it, they are wicked enough, how can they fail in their plotts? when experience tells us, that Papists are full of black Invention and hellish Plotts: what was the Gun-powder Plot, and *Straffords* plot; but what talke you of Plots? The Kings Majesty will have it so, and blinde men in Divinity have the best eyes; they preach, Obey the King, and dishonour God, but as for cruelty and cutting of throates I leave that to Prince *Rupert*, and will acknowledge that there was heeretofore no other purgatory but the Chancery. But what said my Court Lady at *Oxford*, I love the Romane Catholick Faith, for I would lie in bed and be religious, and confesse my sinnes, and live in pompe and pleasure, and know nothing but complementing in *French*, and praying in Latine, and hearing Masse, and when shee did goe to heaven, and visite the Lady *Mary*, and all the Papists that are in heaven, which are very few, for they doe not live after the rate of going to Heaven, unlesse bloody murders, Idolatry, and killing of Kings be the way to Heaven.

These Malignants in my conceit are like those pictures which have a dubble aspect, one like a man, the other like a Devill, when they are to doe mischiefe by flattering the King, or making the country people rise in the Kings behalfe, then they put on smooth faces, and tell them of the Kings power and Prerogative, and that the Parliament is no Parliament, and therefore they may fight against it, that the King is wronged, when indeed no body wrongs him but his malignant Councellours, that they fight for the Protestant Religion, that is for Poperie, and to defend the Lawes, that is the Law of tyrannicall slavery, which the King would impose upon his subjects, and that as the Locust devoured the Land of Egipt, so they might swarm againe and devour us as they did in *England* in the times of peace, when all the Law was in the hand of the Iudge, and that hand must be filled with gold, or else no Law was to be had: but now for cunning wickednesse, which is the malignants other face, and wherein he resembles the Devill, consider him as he was in the shape of *Guido Fauks* when he went with his darke lanthorn in his hand to set fire to the Gunpowder plot, and was taken in this Devills shape, and afterwards he and his Complotters were executed for traytors, but what a number of black malignants are there now in this Land, being a kind of smooth-faced machivilian Devills,

some

some with flattering bellows blowing the coales of dissention betweene the King and Parliament; then there be horned malignant Devills that will roare, sweare, domineer, use nothing but Damnees, and Rammees, as the Cavaliers, who blaspheme Heaven and Earth, and are ready to sweare themselves a live into Hell; then there are Irish Devills as hot as fire, and as bloody as *Belzebub*, these delight in firing of houses, in killing women and Children, in tearing the flesh off Protestants shoulders with hot Pincers, as they did in *Ireland*, together with their horrible cruelties here in *England*, these are cruell Irish Divells, such as doe not lie idle in the Market-place, as the Divill did upon his Elbow, because he knew they would lie and sweare fast enough there, to damn themselves; but these Malignants are no Dormant Devills, but active and stirring to doe mischief; they proclaime his Majesties will, and their own counsell to be Oracles, and make the King beleeve that none have wit or understanding, but his Majesties Cavaliers, and his new borne Counsellors, and that none are so fit to make Priests and Jesuites, as the *Oxford* Schollers; and that if his Majesty print but a plausible Oath, or a Proclamation, that all hee doth, is for the advancement of the Protestant Religion; so Majesty may doe what he will in favour of Papists, and follow their Counsels, as long as the Malignants can but brand the Protestants with the name of Brownist, Anabaptist, Separatist, or Round-heads, and then the Schollers of *Oxford* doe make Sermons before the King of the fidelity of Papists, and how faire they are to be preferred above Puritanes and Protestants, whom they accuse as Religious Traytors; but O King, be rul'd no more by wicked Evill Counsellors, but follow the advice of Scripture wisedome; If this Counsell, or this worke of the Parliament be of men, it will come to naught, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, least (happily) ye be found fighters against God. Behold, O King, but the disposition of all these Bare-wigs, that insinuate into your Counsells; can dissolute lawlesse Cavaliers defend good Lawes? Or can Papists and Atheists fight for the true Protestant Religion, that were as strange, as for Thornes to beare grapes, and Thistles to beare figgs, and as strange it were, that Papists and Atheists should bear arms, to defend the Lawes, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Protestant Religion, the Divell they will; no, they fight to erect here the Kingdom of Darknes and Popery, that spirituall ambition may domineere flat cap, and the four-corner'd Cap may fill the foure corners of the world full of knavery, there should be then no schisme, but a constant Lubberisme in *England*, Bishops, Deans, Doctors, Dunces, and Lubbers, that when they preach't (being very seldome) would speake with a hoarse low voice, as if two or three steeples (having plurality of Benifices) stuck in their throat; and when young VVives and wenches came to Confession, how the *Frier* (like the Divell) would hugg them? would not this be a pretty medly of

confusion; nay, right and wrong shall be all one, fetch me such a Subiects, head, 'tother subiects bed, and his table, nay plunder him to a Pewter spoone, if he will not submit unto the Kings Prerogative; but banish conscience, for miters and Bishops can't indure him, Papists Priests can devise an easie Religion for my Court Lady, that she may go to heaven on a bed of Roses; & never take the paines to come thither, she is troubled with a loosenesse in the bottom of her belly, and cannot sit out a long Sermon, nor make long Prayers, let her give a few scraps at her door, and a doal of Puddings at her death, and Angels shall carry her to Pope *Ione*. But let us let these shee-fooles alone, these shee-Papists and malignant women, that will talke themselues out of breath against the Parliament, but if they might have their wills, to beat and cuckold their husbands by act of Parliament, then, and not till then they would praise the Parliament.

But *Time*, since thou hast thus far discribed the Malignants, goe on with boldnesse, poure out the rest of thy Sackfull of knavery, make the Proverbe true, *speak truth, & shame the Divell*, who stands behind thee, pulling down the sack, to hinder the emptying of it; but out with the trumpery, the Knavery, the Popery, the Policy, the Malignancy, flattery, and all the close wickednesse and impiety that hath been laid upon the back of *Time*, doe it briefly, roundly and plainly, and shake out of thy Sack, all varieties of Knavery.

VVell done *Time*, what comes out here first? *Inprimis*, hundred-pound baggs of money, and these were for Bribes for my Lords the Judges, and for Symony to procure a Benifice for Master *Dunscombe*, a Levite of littell learning, and lesse Conscience, whose Bribe being taken, hee was admitted to the Parsonage. O this money makes the Common-wealth a common whore, that lies down, and let fooles ride her, and deride her, while Knaves thriv'd, and honest men went to wrack, and every *Iack* might be made a Sir *Iohn*, for an hundred pounds, and to conclude, malignant hundred pounds have sent hundred thousands to the Divell.

VVhat comes next, Malignant pounds of Candles, made only for Politicions, to give them light how to study Plots against the Protestants; the Bishop of *Canterbury* burnt twenty pounds of these candles, in studdying how to bring in *Popery*; the Earl of *Strafford* studdyed alwayes by one of these malignant Candles, till at last, the Divell puff't out both the light of his Candle, and the light of his life both togethers It is known that *Diogines* had a malignant candle in his Lanthorne, which gave him light to see how to rayle, and so Malignants, and all wicked men have some of these Candles, Prince *Rupert* never goes to bed, but the Devill lights him up a candle, that he may see to forget to say his prayers, and that he may not see his cruell plunderings; and one of these candles are continually burning before the Kings Maiest;, which

gives

glyes naim such a dim light, that he cannot see the way how to returne unto his Parliament.

Next comes out the *Papists* Reliques, beads, crosses, crucifixes, whips, papist bookes licenced by the Bishop of *Canterbury*, fire and faggots, with which they intended to have burnt the Protestants, as they did in the dayes of Queen *Mary*; and our Queen *Mary* thought to have seen the like bon-fires in her dayes: Hold down the mouth of thy sack, *Time*, what great gray thing is that come out tumbling? Oh, 'tis one of the Fryers that lurd at Saint *Fumeses*, fat and full of knavery and popery; bold, there's a Surplesse, and two payre of Lawn-Sleeves, a hood, a cope, and the poopish Service-boke that was sent downe to the *Scots*, and a paire of Organs, and a may-poole, and the skull of the Queen-mother, with a number of p p st skulls, that while they liv'd, were all Traytors to the Common-wealth of *England*.

What's heere, Serpents? such as *Conyngton* and the rest of the Kings evill Counsellors; and look heere are Eeles, Court Eeles, that would slip into any place of preferrment, but it is knowne, that thunder doth break the backs of Eeles, and since the thunder of warre began, these malignant Eeles are all run unto the King, and doe live in the fresh waters at *Oxford*, *Bristoll*, and other parts in the VVest Country.

Now comes forth Lawyers black-boxes, poore men brought these by their sides out of the Country to *London*, and returned againe with nothing but penury and papers; shake them out *Time*, for when these times were, the Divell and the Lawyer were alwayes full of businesse in the Terme time.

VVhats heere? a Lions skinne, with a Foxes tayle to it, a very good Embleme, to shew that malignant Counsellours do make use of the Lions power, to back their malignant plots, and thus the King is abused by the malignants policy.

But oh horrible and monstrous, heer's a hand with a sword in it, full of hearts, that have been run through by the Sword, and upon the point of the sword is a Crowne, Oh! I fear this sword doth too evidently point out the King, who hath been abused by his Evill Counsellors, his Cavaliers, and the Irish Rebells, who have run their swords through the hearts of many thousand Protestants, this is a bloody sight shak't out of the Sack of *Time*.

Here are more swords, all which have been guilty of *English* blood, not onely their hilts, but their blades are sanguin'd over, they look red, and blush, that friends and brothers, should with hearts of Iron, hard as their swords, kill one another; but now comes out of the sack two bloody hands, the one holding a sword, the other a Torch, and this doth signifie *Prince Rupert*, who is a bloody man of his hands, and doth shew continuall cruelty with fire and sword, as he did at Bolton in Lancashire, and in many other places, which have suffered under this plundering *Prince*.

Heere comes out now a Box, full of Commissions to doe nothing; such as the Duke of *Buckingham* had when he went to relieve the Protestants in *Rochell*, and *Stoll*, when he went *Cales* Voyage; and then here's another box, with the Kings Armes upon it, and in it there's the Commission of Array, with a great many of the Kings Protestations, together with letters from the Queen, and how the Kings Cabbanets of Jewells, being pawn'd, he hath nothing left but a box full of papers not of poetry, but policy, and they must needs be strong lines, that are writ by a King and Queene, and their strong malignants.

Now comes out tumbling together Ship-money, Coxcombes for carpet-Knights, such as *Jermyn* and *Endymion Porter*, being new made Gentlemen, and now being malignants, are made I know not what: heere comes out Monopolits of white-soape, ragges, mary boner, cardes, tobicco, and a patent that should have been granted for pissing against the wall, monopolies and knaveries, come out here.

Whats heere? Oh 'tis the Bishop of *Canterburies* new book, that he sent to the Scots, being sent to him from his Holinesse of *Rome*, and contrived by the Pope, but the mischief was, the bishop of *Canterbury* could not get a close cover for this booke, so that the Scots discovered

vered his Popish purpose, and would rather see it burnt, then entertaine a leafe of it, to be read in their true reformed Churches.

Hold, hold, heer' a company of eyes and eares, and tongues poured out of the Sack of *Time*, why *Time*, wilt thou shame thy self, could there ever be a Time so wicked, that the Star-chamber should endeavour to pluck out the eyes of Religion, and to pick out the best men, to have them disgraced by cutting off their eares, nay and by cutting out their tongues, that is, by silencing Godly Ministers in the Diocesses where the bishops reigned, this was true enough.

But whats heere? *Oxford* Trumpery, and Knavery, Schollers flat-caps, and square-caps, Divines gowns which the Schollers lay down, and while they drink healths to the confusion of the *Roundheads*, they will cry; Lie there Divinity; these are pretty fellows to make Popish Priests of; it is known that *Asticus* is one of these drunken fellows of *All soules* Colledge; but here comes out more, namely Christ-Church Organs, surplesses, Beades, Crosses, Half-Crowns coyned out of *Oxford* Plate, Cuckolds hornes made by the Cavaliers, Books of Popery, of conjuring, and all sorts of Malignant Pamphlets, long gownes, that cover the *Oxford* Levites, that have little Gospel in them, with speares, gunnes and Corslets and Helmets, which the Bishops and Schollers ware at *Oxford*, being better head pieces than their owne.

But oh what comes out now? the very worst of all, the bottome of bottomlesse Popery and cruelty, Heads, Armes, Leggs, feet, and whole quarters of men, women and children butchered by the Rebells in *Ireland*, and heere comes out tongs and Pincers wherewith being heated red-hot, they did pluck the flesh from the bodies of the Protestants; Daggers with which they stabd the Protestants, and let them bleed to death in their sight, Gridirons whereon they roasted Protestants; with Halters, Clubs wherewith they knock out the braines of Protestants, long Knives where-with they ript Children out of their Mothers bellyes, and cut the throats of many thousand Protestants, Axes, wherewith they quartered Protestants, cutting some into small peices, but the burthen of varieties, of cruelties which *Time* hath born in *England* and *Ireland*, is insufferable, the Papists Plots and projects innumerable the Malignants malice and pollicy unchangeable; the Kings heart implacable, so that it would be a hard matter for *Time* to shake all Malignants out of his Sack, he is no small-coal-man, for his sack can never be emptyed, it having no bottom, but is as deep as the Sea of *Rome*, that have so many that help to fill it with knavery, as *Bishops, Malignants rotten Lords, Cavaliers, Pint-pot Preachers, Judges, Lawyers, Country Knights, Malignant Majors of Townes, Bristoll, Cottington, Prince Robert, Maurice, Lords of Cumberland, Bath, Southampton, Dorset, Northampton, Devenshire Bristoll, Berkshire, Hopton, Capell*, with the Lord *Digby*, and the Lord *Devill*, the grand *Malignant*.

FINIS.

12

MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the rest of the KINGDOME.

The 40 VVeeke, ending Octob. 5. 1644.

K. 00 Oxford

SUNDAY. *Septemb.* 29.

WEe have often told you how religiously the Rebells coſen one another; which now is growne ſo palpable, that they at *Weſtminſter* are forced to take notice of it: Particularly in *Hertfordſhire*, the *Sequeſtratours* of which County are this Weeke ſent for up to *Weſtminſter*, to refund ſuch monies as were gathered for the *Cauſe*; Some having ſuggeſted that of *Ten Thouſand pounds* raiſed out of the Lord *Capells* eſtate, they have not paid one Thouſand to the Members; It being unfit that a *Yeoman Committee*, or a few Country Sequeſtratours ſhould pocket up more then the *Members* themſelves. The plaine truth is, the Rebells want money to forme a new Army, (their owne private Banks muſt lye in Reſerve againſt fowle weather) and therefore they'l ranſacke their owne Sequeſtratours, if *Imminent Danger*, or *Invincible Neceſſity* call upon them, as Maſter *Maſſey*, *Iſaack Penington*, Major *Skippon*, or any that hath gotten money ſhall quickly find.

But none hath piled up more thouſands, then the Vertuous Earle of *Mancheſter*, who (a Right Honourable old Lawyer having taught him to take money) hath grated ſo hard upon

his *Associated Counties*, that now they'l yeild no more; and therefore he sent lately to one Master *Meene* a Scrivener in *Friday Street London*, to lend five thousand pounds, and he should have in security *the Publique Faith of the Counties under his Jurisdiction*. This is the Lord *Kimbolton* that 3 yeares since was accused of High Treason, who had so much Innocency, that he durst not staine it with an open purgation, though his guilt hath now swolne him to offer to stake ten Associated Counties, (his whole Principality) for ready money. Rebellion is a brave thing if his Lordships Highnesse had any other assurance then his two fallen Brethren Master *Hambden* and Master *Pym*.

MONDAY. *Sept.* 30.

But they have finer wayes for Money then borrowing of Scriveners (though his Lordships desire to borrow is a Command to lend and a Prohibition to pay) as appeares by that worthy Member Sir *Robert Harley*, who received a Diamond Ring and a good round summe of money from a notorious theife in *Newgate* prison, one *Homes*, whom he was to get reprived; Sir *Robert* honestly tooke the money and diamond. But the time being expired, *Homes* was executed this last *Sessions* & (receiving the Communion before his death) confessed severall Robberies, among which he mentioned this Diamond Ring, stolne (as he professed) from the Countesse of *Nottingham*, to whom he desired it might be restored; Sir *Robert* hath beene often asked for the Ring, but denyes restitution, because the Ring fits his new married Lady, the La. *Wyche* (late wife to Sir *Peter Wyche*, Comptroller of His Majesties Houshold, who died His Majesties loyall and faithfull servant) though it seemes the Lady *Wyche* hath as soone forgot her late Husband as Sir *Rob. Harley* his late Lady, and bestowed her selfe on such a precious *Senator* as must fetch part of her Joynture from *Newgate* Goale. For whose sake we repeate a particular, we mentioned last yeare *viz.* That when Sir *Robert Harley* was last in *Herefordshire* his then *Lady* refused to salute him, saying, *No Master Harley you keepe strange company*, I hope that good Lady meant not Theives in *Newgate*.

TUESDAY

TUESDAY. *Octob.* 1.

Beſides this, we heare of more Jewells, for the Voting-mens wives; for this day 3 Weekes (*Septemb.* 10.) the Lady *Onſlow* told a Kinſwoman of hers, that *the Parliament now began to conſider their good ſervice done to the Cauſe, and therefore had given* Baſing *Houſe to her Husband,* (*Sir* Richard Onſlow) *and to her ſelfe all the Jewells in that Houſe, ſo that her Coſen ſhould ſee them in better condition within few daies:* but (alas) within 4 dayes Colonell *Gage* moſt violently forced her Husband and his 5 Fellow-Brethren from their Line of Communication; To this houre her Ladyſhip hath not received one Jewell.

And their Neighbour Maſter *Wallop* is as Melancholy as any of them, for the loſſe of his deare creature *Harwood* (a moſt buſy malicious Rebell) who coming lately to paſſe the guards at *Portſmouth*, on purpoſe to obſerve the Souldiers diligence, was by the Sentinell bid ſtand, and being asked the Word, ſaid *God be here*; the Sentinell told him if he knew no other word he ſhould not paſſe; *Harwood* ſaid that *God be here* was the Word, and preſſed forward, whereupon the Sentinell ſhot him dead, taking him for a good ſubject becauſe he had not the true word which was, *God bleſſe us*; So that *God was there*, allthough (as his Fellowes ſaid) He did not *bleſſe him*.

Nor is it any wonder that the Rebells thus miſtake one another, for ſome of them have ſo many faces that 'tis no eaſy matter to ſay what ſide they take; eſpecially thoſe faithfull ones that dwell beyond *Tweed*; One of them we conceived had beene capable of Truſt (we meane Colonell *Urrey*) who was lately in the *North* (to ſay no more) and hath beene of 3 contrary ſides in leſſe then 16 Months; When he left the Rebells (in *June* laſt yeare) His Majeſty honoured him with Knighthood, at which time we miſtooke his Chriſtian-Name, and call'd him Sir *William Urrey*, when others affirmed his name was *John*, (it ſeemes there is ſome difference about his *Chriſtendome*) and then Colonell *Urrey* pretended to much loyalty, and accordingly we mentioned him; all which we muſt now recant, and learne hereafter how dangerous it is

to beſtow Commendations upon him or his kindred. For the Manner of his laſt revolt, the *Scottiſh Dove* tells it thus: *The King* (ſaith he) *intended to ſend* Urrey *into* Scotland, Urrey *diſliked the Deſigne, and laid downe his Commiſſion, and afterwards prevailed with the King for a Paſſe into* France, *and ſo to* Denmarke, (to Generall *King*) *but came directly to Sir William Waller*; and ſo let him goe to the place from whence he came.

WEDNESDAY. *Octob.* 2

NOw as 'tis not ſafe to venture farre in Commendation of a *Scot*, (for feare of Recantation) ſo we are reſolved to cenſure none of them till we are certaine of the worſt, which is the very reaſon why you finde us ſilent of Generall *King*, of whō the *London* Pamphlets are pretty Copious this weeke: One of them (their WEEKLY INTELLIGENCER) hath theſe words: *The coming of the Iriſh into* Scotland, *is a thing ſo odious, to the very malignants, that they are the moſt forward men to encompaſſe their deſtruction; and it hath that operation abroad, that Generall* King, *who formerly ſerved His Majeſty, on the head of a Popiſh Army, hath ſent over his Lieutenant Colonell, to Generall* Leſley, *to ſignifie unto him, that ſeeing the King hath cauſed the Iriſh Rebells to invade the Kingdome of* Scotland, *he would willingly (if his ſervice may be accepted) come over and adventure his life againſt thoſe bloody villaines, and conceives it no diſloyalty in him to aſſiſt them.* —We ſay nothing of Generall *King*, but wiſh you to obſerve the Sordid Partiality of them at *London*, who (like *Tender Conſcientes*) thinke it lawfull for the *Scots* to invade *England*, to promote a Rebellion againſt their Native Soveraigne, (who gave them all that their Inſatiableneſſe could deſire) and yet raile on the *Iriſh* for coming into *Scotland* to ſuppreſſe thoſe who have propoſed to themſelves a full Conqueſt of both *England* & *Ireland*.

And ſince we ſpeake of *Generalls*, and men of eminency, we muſt not paſſe Colonell Tinker *Fox*, who (we can aſſure you) hath beene of late ſo often met with by Colonel *Sandys* of Worceſterſhire (and other good baſtings from *Dudley* Caſtle) that the *Tinker* at this day is not full thirty ſtrong; his Horſe almoſt all ſtript from him, brought into *Worceſter*, and

Dudley

Dudley Caſtle, and his men diſpatched, we cannot ſay whither: So that were the *Tinker* commanded to ſend (as heretofore) two dozen of his Brethren to *Banbury* Aſſizes, and find them all with Horſes, 'twould be too great a Taxe, and force him to his profeſſion of trudging on foot with his Armory on his backe, enough to breake his heart, which now is full of ſorrow for the loſſe of his 80 Oxen, provided *for the uſe of the State* and the *Tinker*, but moſt unkindly taken from him on Tueſday laſt by theſe forces from *Worceſter*.

Nay Collonell *Sandys* hath dealt with two more of their Tradeſmen beſides this *Tinker*; for at *Alceſter* in *Warwickſhire* (a Towne belonging to the late Lord *Brooke*, which for it's good affection may be liſted with *Colcheſter*, *Banbury*, *Newbury*, *&c.*) there have beene two Captaines of Horſe, who have made the Church a Garriſon, the one (called *Smith*) is a Cobler, the other is a Chandler. The Chandler keepes his Horſes in the Church (according as the Earle of *Manchester* taught them at *Lincolne* Cathedrall) and his Troope are maintained by plundering ſheepe, which they roſt in the Church, (where the Captaine hath a double ſhare in the Mutton, beſides all that which may advantage his Trade. Theſe two pilfering ſhop-Captaines have already made thin Sheepfolds in the Country thereabout. The Cobler ranges about and deſcends ſo low as ſtealing geeſe and henns; But whiles he and his Troopers were buſie at their worke at *Red-ditch* in *Worceſterſhire* on Saturday was ſeavenight (Sept. 21.) a Troope of Collonell *Sandys* Horſe found them out, fell upon them handſomely, killed and tooke 17 of them and brought away 22 horſe, with Carbines and Piſtolls, Captaine *Cobler* being the firſt that made uſe of his heeles. Since which time Colonell *Sandys* hath beene at *Alceſter*, with his Regiment and gallant Troope of Reformadoes of *Worceſter-ſhire* gentlemen) and how they have diſpoſed of Captaine *Chandler*, Captaine *Cobler*, and their Garriſon you will heare in the next.

Thursday. *Octob.* 3.

But theſe Coblers and Chandlers are petty Plunderers, there are of a higher Order which the poore County of *Dorſet* hath feelingly complained of for (we have ſeen many letters which

assure us) there were lately in and about *Shaftsbury* six hundred *Swedes*, *Germans*, *Danes*, *French*, *Wallowns* and *Scots*, who so shamefully oppressed the Country, that the poore Inhabitants were weary of their lives; It cost a poore man ten shillings a day towards maintenance of these strange Rebels, some forty shillings a day, some three pounds, all the fat beasts were driven into *Poole*, *Lyme*, and *Warham*, and hee was a meane man that had not fifty pound fine laid upon him, some an hundred pound, some three hundred pound, and some a thousand pound; and present moneys were to be paid, else the party plundered to his shirt, and after hurried away prisoner. But His Majesties approach removed this strange yoake, which must needs be compleatly wretched; for it was ordered and managed by two perfidious Scots, *Belfoure* and *Midleton*.

This is it which made *Middleton* so hungry after *Denington* Castle in *Berkeshire*, where he lost his hopes of plunder and got so full a basting; which yet the Rebells will try for once more, and therefore have besieged it these 3 weekes, and plaid upon it with great Shot and Granadoes for 7 dayes together (with little intermission) but the brave Governour Lieutenant Colonell *Boys* hath so received them, that the Rebells have betooke themselves to a more mannerly distance; the Garrison are all as gallant and couragious as at first hower, (better and more resolute men there are not in *England*) so as their Pamphlet *Civicus* tells us this weeke in print, That *at* Denington *Castle they still hang out their Blacke Flagge, refusing either to give or take quarter*, which gallant Resolution hath caused the *Prince of the Association* to send for his men which he lent thither to be beaten.

Friday. *Octob.* 4.

And his Lordship had neede send them into his Associate Counties, for his Remnants there thrive no more then those languishing wretches in his owne Army, which wast away strangely by that contagion which it hath pleased God to send among them; whereby they are fitter to joyne with Sir *William Waller*, where both the Plague and Small Pox rage in no ordinary manner; as if those heavy Judgments were sent before

fore to prepare for those *Londoners* that will take no warning, though they daily see thousands of Widows & Orphans, for whose livelyhoods the Rebells care no more then they did for the lives of their Fathers and Husbands; for they at *Westminster* sit voting, and wish rather to gaine some small Garrison from His Majesty, then to save the bloud of a thousand Citizens of *London*.

And none hath expressed this more then the Earle of *Manchester*, who at his late being in *Bedfordshire*, caused poore Country people to be beaten bruised and wounded for refusing to take up armes, (and if others would second, this bloudy Rebellion would cease of it selfe) for notwithstanding all his barbarous usage he brought thence but a thin Recruite. And in other parts of his *Association* he prospers worse, as you shall heare next Weeke in the businesse of *Croyland*; At *Uppingham* in *Rutlandshire*, many of his Deputies were got together to recruite his Lordship (being part of those Rebells in *Burleigh* House and *Rockingham* Castle) whereof Sir *Gervas Lucas* (the Vigilant Governour of *Belvoyr*) having intelligence, sent a good party of horse thither commanded by Captaine *Mason*, who persued his directions so well, that he took the Rebells chiefe Officer there, and another a *Committe man*, (Master *Valentine Goodman*,) with divers others that were most active against His Majesty, chasing the rest home, many whereof left their horses behind, their beloved designe being totally destroyed.

SATURDAY. *October* 5.

While this was done at *Uppingham*, the brave Garrison of *Newarke* went into *Lincolneshire*, and there fell upon *Sleyford* a Garrison of the Rebells, which they presently tooke, demolished the Rebells works and made it unfit for any Garrison hereafter. This done, they went to *Torsey* and there beat the Rebells from the Bridge and Towne, tooke the Church and in it 20 prisoners, above 40 armes, having slaine 14 Rebells and returned home with the losse of one man; And next morning sent

ſent out a party which brought to *Newarke* one Maſter *Bury* a buſie Commiſſioner for the Rebells at *Lincolne*; who had good ſtore of letters and other Papers found about him. As for that famous Garriſon at *Newcaſtle*, the hungry *Scots* have been ſo beaten by it, that the number before the Towne lookes ſo ſmall as if none were there but *honeſt Scots*. Their horſe are all gone off into *Scotland* to ſecure their ample Patrimonies at home, where their hands are kept in action, being pretty well galled by that gallant victory which the Lord Marqueſſe of *Montroſſe* hath obtained in *Fife*; The *Scots* before *Newcaſtle* are neither numerous nor couragious, being bravely tamed by that excellent blow which the Garriſon beſtowed upon them on Monday was ſeavenight (Sept. 23.) and the Saturday before (Saint *James's* day) at which two times the brave men of *Newcaſtle* ſlew and tooke above 500 *Scots*, killed a principall Commander (we remember not his *Scottiſh* name) and tooke 3 peices of Ordinance; ſince when the *Scots* are withdrawne from *Tinmouth* Caſtle, which till then they blockt up.

But perhaps 'twill pleaſe theſe *Scots* to heare of His Majeſties *Proclamation* bearing date at *Chard* on Monday laſt (Septemb. 30.) *Declaring His Majeſties Reſolution for ſetling a ſpeedy Peace by a good Accomodation, and an Invitation to all His Loving Subjects to joine together for His Aſſiſtance, by arming themſelves to accompany His Majeſty, who is Reſolved with His Armies to draw preſently towards* London. A true Copy whereof you ſhall have in the next.

This Proclamation we hope will juſtifie that good *Lady*, who lately being asked (by a Knight of the Lower Houſe who thought he ſpake wittily) *why former Synodes and Aſſemblies of Divines did nothing juſtly, and this New Aſſembly did juſt Nothing?* The Lady anſwered, that *'Twas done in imitation of the Houſe of Commons, who at the beginning of this Parliament did they knew not what, and now know not what to doe*; This Knight is Sir *Henry Mildmay*, but this Lady is not the Lady *Waller*.

FINIS.

pp. Londⁿ K.

Numb. 55.

13

Mercurius Britanicus

Communicating the affaires of great BRITAINE:

For the better Information of the People.

From *Monday* the 21. of *October*, to *Monday* the 28. of *October*. 1644.

Poore, thin, single-sheeted *Anlicus* is abroad still, *taking the aire*, between *Oxford* and *London*; but continues as unhealthy, and indisposed to amendment as ever: And therefore I thinke it were best even to give him quite over; but that there would be such a noise and *enquiring* made after me both in *City* and *Country*; and the *Malignants* would begin to *laugh in their sleeves* againe, and *fire* as heartily, as they did a *month* since, when they began to *hug* themselves over *Anlicus*, as the only *thriving* Paper; and joy in hope of my continuall *Silence*. They know well what an advantage it would be to their *Cause*, to have *us* sing'd freely with their *paper squibs* from *Oxford*, & that *Anlicus* should rove here up and downe our streets, *railing* against our *Parliament* one by one, and never be controld, nor his villanies *stript* and *jerkt* before *Common-people*: This is the advantage they *gape* after; I observe it well enough, and could tell you of this and that inconvenience and mischiefe; which would quickly follow: I have serv'd a *Parliament* and *Reformation* hitherto in *unmasking* and *unbooding* incendiaries of all sorts, and vindicating our true *Patriots* from *slanders* and *aspersions*; and of this latter there is still as much necessity as ever, though every *Prenticeboy* knowes now as much of the other as my selfe. Every one can point out the *evill Counsellours* now, and shake their heads at the rare *feats* of Queene *Mary*, and discourse of the mischiefes of *George*, *Iermin*, and *Iunto*, and how they keepe His Majesty still out of the cleare *Sunshine* of the *Gospell*, stumbling up and downe in the *twilight* of *Popish-Protestant* religion: But this is not all; I have other *irons in the fire*, and if I should let them *cool*, *Anlicus* will never be

Malignants were in hope that Britanicus would give over.

Many inconveniences would follow.

 branded

branded throughly for his villany, nor the *Junto* for their *Apostacy*.

He hath often told us (sayes he) *how religiously we cozen one another*, and that *they* at Westminster are *forced to take notice of it*. Sirrah, I have often told you of your *cozening* us of our *Religion*, and those *religious cheats* which your *Jesuits* and *Bishops* call *pia fraudis*, *holy deceits*, and delusions, to cheat the poore common people into a blinde obedience to whatsoever you shall thrust upon them; and these are the things which *they* (renowned *they*) at *Westminster* have *taken notice* of, and reformed; only there remains one of their great *religious cheats* (the *Common-prayer*) not yet throughly reformed, that is, not quite thrust out of our *Congregations* yet: There is one (a *Northern* man) in the Northern *Suburbs*, and indeed, look you which way you will, *East*, *West*, *North*, or *South*, and you shall finde them *cheating* the people still with it; I think I must give you a *Catalogue*, before they leave off: In the mean time mark those that use it, and think of them as they would prove, meere *time-servers*, and such as can *wheele about* with their *weather-cock* Divinity, upon any occasion.

Religious cheats.

Common-prayer a great cheat.

He tels us of he Hertfordshire *Sequestrators being sent for up to* Westminster, *to refund such monies as were gathered for the Cause*. Oh, this *Sequestration*-device hath almost quite broken the heart of them; It deprives them of the *sinews* which should strengthen their design, so that the poor *Junto* was ready to faint and swoon even upon their first fitting, to see their rents *refunded* here at Westminster: This is it which made the *Malignant* Lords and Gentry to pine into such *poor pittances*: This is it which *non-plust* the Coffers of our *new-plotted* kindred in *Holland*, and tyred out the liberality of the *Spaniard*: And this is that which (no doubt) will help us to go *through stitch* with this glorious work, till the opposers have quite *refunded* all, and be utterly *confunded*.

Sequestration is a great trouble to Malignants.

He tels us that the *Hertfordshire* Sequestrators are a *Yeoman Committee*. This is it which *goes against the haire* with them at *Oxford*; they have a plot in hand to *enslave* the whole *Commons* of the Kingdome, and therefore cannot endure to heare that the *Yeomanry* should be held of any esteem, or have any thing to do in matters of the least publike concernment: It was the old *Court-plot*, ever to hoist up the *Prerogative* of the King, and suppresse the *liberty* of the Subject; setting before his eyes the absolute power of *France* as a pattern of *Emulation*, so that in time the ancient and free *English* title of *Yeoman* should have been changed into that of *Peasant* or *slave*; and so our whole *estates* and *liberties* been made a *sacrifice* to the *avarice* and flattery of *Courtiers*.

Courtiers the greatest enemies to Yeomen.

But *Anlicus* sayes, that *we* will *ransack the Sequestrators*, when we

Want

want money to form a new Army. No, *Aulicus*, there is no need of *ransacking* here; This is your faculty, and that the people know sufficiently; and therefore they are alwayes ready and willing to contribute their assistance (when occasion is) to *form an Army* against you: They know that *Rupert* is Prince of *Robbers*; They know what a minde you have had to be sharing in the *associated Counties*, yea, and in *Cheap-side* it self too: How miserable have many parts of the Kingdom been made by your mischievous and bloudy *recrutings!* How have all things been put out of form and frame whereſoever you came to *form* your shattered broken *Armies!* Nay, your very friends have felt the miserable effects of your cruelty and oppression; and even wretched *Cornwall* it self has reason to curse you. Are not these a pretty generation (think ye) to run *rambling* up and down the Kingdom? And why then do not we arise all as one man, that once there may be an end put to all those miseries, which they have brought, and continue upon the Nation?

Who they are that most desire and practise ransacking and robbery.

He sayes that *private Banks are reserved here against foul weather.* Is it providence to disburse all at once? We had need have *Banks* both private and publike to keep off the *foul weather* and storms which have been raised to *wrack* this poor *Island*. And I question not but our *Banks* will hold out, till the *weather* grow so *foule*, that *Aulicus* himself will not dare to stir out any more to *London*, nor *her Majesty* venture over the Seas back again, to bring any more *foul weather* into the Kingdom: And then it will be time for *Rupert* and *Maurice* to bid their Uncle *adieu*; for (I warrant ye) they are *right Dutch-breed*, and have provided very fairly against *foul weather*. This was the course taken by the *Catholike Marquisse*, when the weather grew so foul in the *North*: Onely *Hugh Cholmley*, lies lurking behind still in his den at *Scarborough*; but is provided as well as the rest to make it fair weather in *Holland*, if any *foul* be coming on at home.

Provided against foule weather.

He tells us that Alderman *Pennington*, Major *Skippon*, and Col: *Massey* have *gotten money*. This it is to be sincere and faithfull to the State; I want both *Ink* and *Language* to expresse the merits of these gallant *Worthies*: This is that Alderman *Pennington*, that quelled and disarmed the *Malignants* in *London*, and reformed the whole City to the obedience of the *Parliament*, and employed the whole time of his *Majoralty* with indefatigable pains, to the generall good; for which famous performances he is entrusted with that grand Charge of the *Lieutenant-ship* of the Tower of *London*. As for Major *Skippon*, the honour of his late *Western* Service has lifted him far above the reach of *Aulicus*; for which a noble Reward was designed him by the State: And for Colonell *Massey*,

Alderman *Pennington.*

Major *Skippon.*

Col: *Massey.*

sey, *Glocester* and *Wales* must speak him famous to posterity.

Many abuses of the Earl of Manchester.

He still continues to rail against the noble Earl of *Manchester*; and first, he taxes him with *piling up of thousands*. He did so indeed at *York*; there, he and the valiant *Cromwell*, *piled* up some *thousands* of their *Popish*-Army, and gave a main stroke to the crowning of that day with a gallant *victory*: This is the reason wherefore *Aulicus* has railed against him ever since so bitterly. Then he sayes, that he *hath grated so hard upon* the Associated Counties, *that they'l yeild no more, and therefore he sent to one* Mr. *Meine in* Friday *street to borrow money*. This noble Lord, and his gallant *Association* are now become a continued Subject of his weekly slander; but the best of it is, they are resolved to endure any *grating* at the present, then the *grating* of the Prerogative hereafter.

The accusation of him, and the five Members, repeated by Aulicus, to his Majesties dishonour.

But *Aulicus* proceeds still, and sayes, that *this is the Lord* Kimbolton, *which three years since was accused of high Treason*. I thought he would have been more tender of *his Majesties* honour, then ever to have brought that upon the stage again, for which in so many *Messages*, and *Declarations* he cryed *pecavi* before all the world, and which his Majesty himself desired should be mentioned no more, and now this impudent *Pamphlet* gives the occasion: Reader, this Lord had the honour to be one Peer amongst the *five Members*, which in a most illegall and unexampled manner, were accused by the King of *high Treason* personally in the *house of Commons*, being attended with a tumultuous *crue of Roisters*, on purpose to have carried them away, and sacrificed them to the fury and malice of such as were the known *Incendiaries*, and grand *Delinquents* of the Kingdome: This is that honourable *Lord Kimbolton*.

Rebellion a brave thing.

He tels us that *Rebellion is a brave thing*. It is a *brave thing* indeed for *Cavaliers*, and fellows of desperate fortunes, which know not how to swim but in *troubled waters*: It is a brave thing also, when it shall bee set forward and countenanced in *Ireland* to further the designes on foot here, and the chief actors be received into more favour then true Subjects, who alone are now most falsly and injuriously branded with the name of *Rebels*; as long as things go thus, *Rebellion* must needs be a very brave thing.

A base scandall against Sir *Robert Harley*.

In the next place he throws dirt upon the Robes of that worthy Senator Sir *Robert Harlow*, most impudently and injuriously taxing him with a *Diamond Ring* received from one in Newgate, whereof he makes a most formall story, and sayes, that the thiefe confessed upon the gallows, that he had stoln the Ring from the Countesse of *Nottingham*, and desired it should be restored to her, but that Sir *Robert* keeps it for his *next married wife*. Tis *Aulicus*, this is such stuffe as never was coyned in any

Pamphlet.

Pamphlet: See how the enemy drives to undermine one of the firmest pillars, by laying Siege and battery with slander, against the person of a most Religious, and worthy *Patriot*, whose *hands* and *Counsell* have been most eminent in the pulling down of *Idolatry*, and setting up the sincere worship of God.

But this is not all to slander the living; for his malice strives to reach heaven it self, and pursue the Ghost of Sir *Roberts* deceased *Lady*: and then presently again, he levels his pen against his new-married Lady, and leaving her, with as much dexterity he passes on to another good Lady, the Lady *Onslow*, who (he sayes) *said a kinswoman of hers, that the Parliament had given the Jewels in Basing-house to her, and the house it self to her husband.* This is right coyned *stuffe* indeed, as if it came from the *Muse* at *Oxford*: howsoever the *Parliament* cannot but be mindfull of the good services of Sir *Richard Onslow*, and will not let his forward endeavours toward the reducing of that base garrison passe unrewarded: As for the Marquisse his Jewels, I suppose that they were long before this time in the same condition with those of the *Crown*; and therefore as little to be expected as the *Plate* they talkt of: But no matter, *Aulicus*, for such toyes, we have Ladies (of which sort these here named are) that *sparkle* with vertues instead of *Jewels*, and are truly orient in their conversations.

Ladies abused.

He tells us of Mr. Wallops *being melancholie for the losse of* Mr. Harwood at *Portsmouth*: Even as *melancholie*, as his Majestie was for the losse of *Lindsey*, *d'Aubigny* at *Keston*, or of *Sunderland* and *Faulkland* at *Newberie*, or as *Rupert* was for his *dog* at *Yorke*, or for the sound *beat* given him lately by Coll. *Massie*, when he made a little more hast then ordinary back to *Bristoll*.

Fits of Melancholy.

But among their many causes of *Melancholy*, the coming away of *Colonell Vrrey* is not the least: *Aulicus* is much grieved that *His Majestie* should bellow a Knighthood upon him, which he cals *honouring* of him: This might have been true in those dayes when Knighthood was an honour: but now since every wretched upstart *mushroome* has been *dub'd* for mischiefe and vilany, it is hardly worth the acceptance of any cordiall ingenious man.

Aulicus grieved at Col. Vrrey.

Knighthood no honour.

This, you will say, is *plain English*; but I promise you I never meant to *recant*, as *Aulicus* sayes he must, and I expect to see it one day: for he begins already, and sayes plainly he *must recant, and learne hereafter, how dangerous it is to commend*; But in this I shall hardly believe him; for I dare say, if *Rupert* could but recruite again, you should have him as highly extolled to the title of his *Highnesse*, as if he had never fallen out with his *Uncle* who seemed a while ago to have so much patience, as to let the young man succeed him in *Ireland*; but since he gave so many faire evidences of his hopes to bring it to passe, by ingratiating himselfe to the *Irish* with unusuall preferments, he has been curbed a little; and (to say the truth) it were very dangerous to furnish the *youngster* with any more recruits from *Ireland*, when he takes so faire a course, first to make them his *Creatures*, and then to *incorporate* them here into the best *Garrisons* for his own turne hereafter; and therefore *Aulicus*, you see how dangerous it may be to *commend* even *Rupert* himselfe: I could give you more instances, but I mean to be briefe.

Rupert grown malepert, and curbed.

Thou sayest that some here have *so many faces 'tis not easie to say what face they take*. This is the only truth I ever met with in thee; and that which you at *Oxford* ever knew well enough, and could make use of them here accordingly: We have too many such lake-warm *Neuters* here still; though (I hope) our *Westerne* experience hath taught us sufficiently to beware of admitting such into our Armies any more, to befriend his Majestie at a *dead lift*, and spin out this unnaturall war, within the bowels of our Nation.

Some men here have many faces.

Which they will not be able to do long, if their old *Trustees* begin to forsake them so fast: among the rest, he is much troubled at *Generall King*, that he should offer his service to the Lord Generall *Lesley*, to fight against those *Irish Rebels* which had invaded *Scotland*, and to this purpose he tels a passage out of the *Weekly Intelligencer*:

Generall King.

But he is so blanke, that he confesses he can *say nothing to it*; but proceeds with old ridiculous aspersions against the *Scots*, of *invasion*, and *Conquest* (forsooth) both of England *and* Ireland; which is as true as that the *Cornish* come on purpose to conquer *London* as we are given to understand in another new *Proclamation*.

Colonell Fox. He tells us of strange *feates* performed in *Worcestershire* by the garrison of *Dudley* Castle against Colonell *Fox*, whom because of his tried mettall for the *Cause*, they brand with the most unmannerly name of a *Tinker*, from whom, he sayes, *they took* 80. *Oxen*; but I rather believe from some *Grazier*, which they robbed in that Country.

Where thieves may have preferment. He tels us of two Captains, the one a *Chandler*, the other a *Cobler*, which steal sheep, Hens and Geese in *Warwickshire*: send them to *Rupert*, such *pilfering Captains* will help very fitly to recruite his own *Regiment*, and passe for gallant Commanders among his *Irish Kernes*.

His Majesties Army a medley of all Nations. He tels of a *complaint* made lately by the people of *Dorsetshire* about *Shaftsbury*, where there were no lesse then six hundred *Swedes, Germans, Danes, French, Wallooners* and *Scots*, *which oppressed the Country, that the poor inhabitants were weary of their lives*. About this place his *Majestie* quartered lately, and when you may guesse who brought thither that *Tyrannicall Medley* of all Nations (wherein we must not forget some *Welsh* and *Cornish*, because they are all of a Religion) to ruinate and oppresse the Country.

Sir William Balfore. He calls Sir *William Balfore*, and Sir *Thomas Middleton two perfidious Scots*. These are men which have brought honour to their Nation, and eternity to their own names by their gallant services: it were commendation enough for Sir *Will. Balfore* to tell you, that he was not relisht at Court in times of *Peace*, a sufficient argument of integrity: No wonder then, if he be raild at and slandered now, being so eminent and forward an *Actor* in the War; the same also may be said concerning famous Sir *Thomas Middleton*, who must needs bear ill with them, because he hath done so much for the Kingdom, and goes on still with valour and successe, to adde more glory to his former *conquests*; this is he which tames, and chains up the *Welsh furies* so fast, that all *North Wales*, is in a manner subdued to the *Parliament*.

Sir Thomas Middleton.

Dennington Castle. He has some more *flourishes* this week concerning *Dennington* Castle, as what *resolute* and couragious men they are; and how they *hung out their black flags*: they always carry *black flags* indeed, the true *emblemes* of their mindes, who are accustomed to such *black deeds*: But this *Dennington* Castle, which he hath made the *subject* of a fortnights discourse, has nothing of moment done about it, within this *month*, judge you then, how *Aulicus* is straitned of *Intelligence*, and their *forces* abroad, either of action, or *succesle*.

Stale fictions of the Earl of Manchester, and Sir Wil. Wallers Armies. But you may the better judge by those stale-repeated, and over worne *fictions* which follow, wherewith of late he has bin put to fill many a *Page* in so great a *dearth* of *news*; for he tels us now the *fourth* time, with as much impudence, as at the first, of a *strange contagion* still in the Earl of *Manchesters* Army, and of the *Plague and small Pox, raging in no ordinary manner, in Sir* Will. Wallers *Armie*: the Earle of *Manchesters strange* disease then wants a *name* (as every petty one might, if there were none wiser then old *Clayson*) and the strange diseases with Sir *William Waller* (he sayes) are the *Plague* and *small Pox*: I must confesse the latter of these (the *small Pox*) to be a strange disease with you, where the grand generous *French* hath been so frequent; but the former (the *Plague*, your familiar) hath swept and cleansed *Oxford* lately of more *Popery*, then ever the *Bishops* did since *King Edwards Reformation*.

A Scarecrow for the Londoners. Then to fright the *Londoners*, he tells us, that those were *heavy Judgements sent before to prepare for those* Londoners *that will take no warning*. Alas, poore *Aulicus*! Thou feest the *Londoners* will abroad for all that: They are sensible enough of those *heavy Judgements* passed heretofore, under pretence of *Law* and *Justice*, to the diminution of their *liberties*, and *privileges*, and have not forgotten the weight of those *heavy* burthens, which were little better then *slavery* it self; together with the weight and burthens layd upon their *Consciences*; these are the *heavy Judgements* which they feare, and doe very well perceive the aime of your present *designe*, to establish those things by *force*, which you could not by *policy*. And

And yet the *Policy* of lying goes on still; for he tells us that *there are thousands of widowes and Orphans, for whose livelihoods no care is taken; and that the Parliament had rather gaine one small Garrison, then save the blood of a thousand Citizens of* London. This is high and loud *declaiming* (*Gentlemen*): d'ye thinke *Aulicus* is not a *rare fellow*, and like y to doe *His Majesty* great service? But you must conceive that his *intelligence* is *calculated principally* for *Terra Incognita*, the more remote parts of the Kingdome, to deceive people there: He can hardly bring it to passe here; for we know here how piously and how really the *Parliament* have provided for *poore widowes* and *Orphans*, whose husbands and fathers have been slaine in the warrs; and how tender the *Parliament* have been in their respects toward the City of *London*, and *the City* mutually againe to them. This is that excellent bond of *Amity*, which hath raised a Spirit of feare and *Emulation* in the enemy? And therefore I pray you (ye famous *Londoners*) take notice, with what scandalous *digressions*, *Aulicus* endeavours to draw you off from those high *interesses* of your owne honour and safety, which now lie upon you.

Impudent false insinuations.

A caveat to the Londoners.

He knowes well enough, that it is you which have alwayes given the deadly blow to their designe, and therefore endeavours (what he can) to withdraw you from *the worke*: but proceed, as you have begun, to the perpetuall honour of your own Names, and your *renowned City*; which at this present stands the *Bulwarke*, hope, and expectation of all the *Protestants* in the world.

He tells us againe (and this is the third time) of the Earl of *Manchesters beating, bruising*, and *wounding* the people in *Bedfordshire*. Was ever poore *Aulicus* put so to his shifts for the filling up of a *pamphlet*? Then he tells us of the ill prospering of his *Association*, by reason of the industry of the *Governour* of *Belvoir* Castle; and the carrying away of a *Commitee-man* (by name Mr. *Valentine Goodman*) from *Uppingham* in *Rutlandshire*. This *Uppingham* was the same *Jeremy Taylors* living, whom I mentioned to you the last weeke, who with his *Generous Conversation* heretofore, drove all *good men* out of his *Parish*: And his friend *Aulicus* joyes to heare that all *good men* are driven away now too; but especially Mr. *Goodman* himselfe, because he was a *Commitee man*, and so likely to be a *true Protestant*, two great inducements of malice and hatred from *Oxford*.

Another old stale slander.

Ieremy Taylor.

Now he is come to his *brave Garrison of* Newarke; and tells us what they did against *Sleaford*, and how that *they made it unfit for any Garrison hereafter*: This is the usuall course, to *burne, waste, demolish*, and make all places desolate where soever they come. Afterwards, how they went to *Torsey*, there *beate downe the Bridge and Towne*; then *tooke the Church, and in it* 20 *prisoners*, 40 *Armes*, 14 *slaine*, whereof the *Common prayer booke*, the *Surplice*, and picture of Saint *Peter* with the keyes in his hand at the Church doore, made three; I can assure ye, a most bloody execution? And yet it seemes they had but one man left to grace their *triumph* after so huge a *victory*; and that was one Mr. *Bury*, an active *Commissioner* for the *Parliament* at *Lincolne*.

Boastings of Newarke.

From *Newarke* he is come to their garrison of *Newcastle*; before which he will allow no more *Scots* but a few *foot*, and those out of heart, and *beaten* too; and that their horse are gone all off into *Scotland* to oppose the Lord Marquesse of *Montrosse*, whose worthlesse honour, and *beaten forces*, may *be compared even to the beasts that perish*; and because thou shouldest put on a *Mourning suite*, I give thee to understand, that those *Beasts* here spoken of, are your darling beloved *Irish Rebels*, His Majesties *most loving and faithfull subjects*.

Newcastle.

Montrosse.

Very beasts

At length *Aulicus* brings up *the reare of his Paper with a terrible Proclamation*; bearing date at *Chard* on *Munday* (*Sept.* 30) *Declaring His Majesties resolution for setling a speedy peace, and good accommodation* (that word *good* makes the story incredible) *and an invitation to all His loving subjects to joyne together for his Assistance* (but how?) *by arming themselves to accompany His Majesty* (see how they betray their bloody intentions by a meere *contradiction*, as if to put on *Armes*, and fight, were the way to *peace*, and a *good* accomodation) *who is resolved with His Armies to draw presently towards* London, (if he

His Majestie abused by a most ridiculous Proclamation.

can.) I wonder that *Digby* and *Nicholas* have so much impudence, to abuse both *King* and *People*, with such a ridiculous *Nonsence* Proclamation.

The Intelligence.

Did not I tell you that the *Scots* meant to send us coales this winter? And now the fulfilling of this *Prophecie* cannot but be very comfortable this *cold weather*: Me thinkes I am warme with the very conceit of *Newcastles* being taken, though our *London* Wood-Merchants (perhaps) grow chill upon the businesse, and begin to looke *cloudy* after this *Northerne storme*: Oh, it is a rare *devillish* humour to be in love with thriving by a *common calamity*, and to build a prosperous fortune upon the ruine of the poore and needy: Such there are amongst us, and I warrant ye, they mean to hold up the price of wood and coals still, as long as they heare that Maligniant *Otterly* and *Tinmouth* are in any possibility of holding out: but the raging of the *pestilence*, besides other inconveniences, will force them to a speedy *surrender*. In the mean time the *Parliament* have not been unmindfull of the great blessing received by taking of the *Towne*, as appears by this ensuing *Order*.

Newcastle taken.

Plague in Tinmouth Castle, and the Castle of Newcastle.

Die Veneris, 25. October. 1644.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that on the Lords day, being the 27 of October, *the Ministers in their severall Parish-Churches, do give thankes unto Almighty God, for the prosperous successe of the Scots Army in the taking of Newcastle. Here, before I proceed, I cannot but take notice of the noble carriage of his Excellency*, the Lord Generall *Leslie* in this businesse; who notwithstanding many foule and injurious provocations given him from within by the stubborne *Papists*, and *Maligniants*, used all faire meanes to have them yeild up the Towne; and offered them as ample conditions, as themselves could have desired, either for *strangers*, or *inhabitants*; which being slighted and contemned, there remained nothing but a fearfull *storming* to subdue them. There were taken prisoners 20 *Lords* and *Knights*, many *Gentlemen* of quality; and many *Northumberland Papists*, with much *Treasure* and *Ammunition*.

The noble carriage of Generall Lesley.

The right noble *Earle* of *Desmond* Governor of the Castle of *Duncannon* (which commands the river that runs from the *Sea* to *Wexford*, one of the best harbours in *Ireland*) having had sufficient experience how much the Kings party in *Ireland* had seduced him and others to condiscend to a Pacification with the bloody *Irish Rebels* and being sensible that the drift thereof was, and hath since been found a Plot utterly to extirpate the *Protestant Religion*; hath declared himself for the *Parliament*, and hath taken the *Nationall Covenant*, and all his Souldiers done the like: since which, a Pinnace of *Dunkirke* sailing into that harbour to supply the *Rebels* in *Wexford*, was surprized by the *Castle*, wherein was 8. peece of Ordnance, and 1800. weight of Gunpowder; the foresaid *Earle* after the taking hereof (notwithstanding many wants the Castle hath) hath sent the said Pinnace with 2. pieces of the Ordnance to the L. Admirall in token of his fidelity to the Parliament, whose protection he implores, as the only supporters of *Religion* and *Liberty*; *Maligniants* open your eyes, and cleer up with *Duncannon*.

His *Majesties* Army was about *Newbury* and *Donnington* on *Saturday* morning, they had broken up a bridge to retard the *Parliament* Army, the better to escape them, but such was the cheerfulnesse of ours, that they suddenly make up the bridge, and came so neer the *Enemie*, that before this can be Printed, you may expect an *engagement*: God give his *servants* good successe.

Doubt. What is the main intent of *his Majesties* last *Proclamation*?

Satisfaction. To delude the people with a *specious Invitation* under the sweet name of *Peace*, pretending to settle it by their assistance; where as it is nothing but a trick to draw the more simple into Arms, to the lengthning of this unnaturall War.

London Printed for *Robert Wilde*, 1644.

Perfect Passages OF Each Dayes Proceedings IN PARLIAMENT:

From Wednesday Octob. 23. to Tuesday Octob. 29. 1644.

A great fight between the two Armies: eight Peeces of Ordnance taken from the King, the Earl of Cleveland *taken prisoner, and 1000. kild and taken, the King fled to Wallingford, and his Forces routed, his Artillerie left at Dennington, and all the particulars, certified to the Committee of both Kingdomes. 35. Heads of the Propositions to be sent to the King, with the names of 36. incendiaries to be exempted from pardon. The number of both parties kild at the taking of Newcastle. 60. Horse and Armes taken by the Garrison of Lyme. 30. Prisoners, and 12 horse taken at Croyland, and since that 40. of our men, and an iron Saker taken by them. Capt.* Swanly's *Letter, of a great overthrow given to the Rebels in Ireland. The Heads of the City Petition to the H. of Commons.*

WEDNESDAY. *Octob.* 23.

Rave Coloncll *Nicolls*, what slain, and yet alive again! and of 500 kild, all risen but 14, and 7 of them drowned too! For shame Malignants lie not so loud: we allow you took 240. prisoners at Saltash, whereof Colonell *Nicolls* one, though he so bravely defended his men, that 14. onely were kild, one drowned, and the rest (save onely the 200. taken with him prisoners) retreated safe to Plymouth. Indeed there were divers of the Townesmen put to the sword in cold blood, the number of them will cry for vengeance: and this by severall Letters to the House this day was certified to be the whole story of the 500. that were reported by the Malignants to be slain at Saltash, and Col. *Nicolls*, and 6000. Commanders slain. *Aulicus* hath many true disciples in London. This

This day came the joyfull Newes of taking Newcastle, in which businesse the Scots have shewed themselves so zealous to God, and brotherly to us, (though Malignants would blemish them) that we may easily perceive, they seek not to inrich themselves by us, but to help us in the worke of the Lord, to Gods glory, and their and our mutuall comfort.

Generall *Leven* offered them such Propositions, as that we may see thereby, they sought not their wealth, but to reduce those parts to the obedience of Parliament. The Propositions having been so often printed at large, I shall omit them here: which Articles being refused by the town of Newcastle, Generall *Leven* shewed them to the English Commissioners which went from the Parliament and remain with them (wherby we may see, how cleare they are from seeking to take any thing from us, to inrich themselves by spoiling of us) and seeing the said Propositions were so scornfully rejected, he desired of the Commissioners, that he might have leave to exercise the part of a Souldier. Which being concluded, Generall *Leven* drew out 20 Companies of Foot, commanded by Col. *Barklow*, and Lievt. Col. *Robert Hemie*, and Ser. Major *John Haddon*, who were placed against the Breach that was made at Close-gate, and Col. *Iames Rae*, Lievt. Col. *Melve*, and Major *David Logan*, were commanded by Sir *Alexander Hambleton* with ten Companies of Foot, were to storm upon the springing of a Mine under the white Tower. Also Col. *William Stewart*, Lievt. Col. *Gorden*, and Major *Agnew*, were to storm upon the springing of a Mine at the West gate, where they were placed with 10. Companies of Foot.

M. *John Baily*, Lievtenant Generall of the Foot, with his one Lievtenant Colonell *Bonar*, the Lord *Cooper*, the Earle of *Dumfermlin*, and others, with 50. Companies of Foot, quartered at Newgate; the Earle of *Cassils*, Lord *Douglas* of Relhead, *Wedderburry*, and the Earle *Marshall*, with 30. and odd Companies were to endeavour with their great peeces of Canon and Petars to make breaches, and stoune, and the Lord *Sinclar* with his leavied Regiment of 5. Companies, the 10. Companies of Sterlingshire, under the Lord *Levingston Ayton* and *Nidder*, and the Master of Cranstoune, were to fall on upon the springing of some Mines, and accordingly at a fit time as was appointed, they all plaid their parts gallantly, the Glascowmen entred at the breach, and slew many, marching into the town with great valour. A strong party within opposed Colonell *Rae*, who entred upon the springing of a Mine with some losse, and many hurt, but the Westgate being opened, upon entrance, the Scots Reare came up and drave the enemy from their

Works,

Works, the Galloway men also having sprung their Mine, made entrance through with some losse, and drave one part before them in the Town one way, as the other did the other part; and the 5. Regiments at Newgate made a great breach, and entred valiantly, where Major *Robert Hethburne* was slaine, and 3. Captains: and divers others, Lievt. Col. *William Home* fought bravely as also Col. *Patrick Hethburne* as also the Angus men, and the rest, whose valour was so great as never could be more expresst by men.

But to be short, the valiant Scots, though many of them fell, some say 500. kild and wounded, yet were they no whit daunted thereat, looking unto God whose battle they fight, some were slain by stones from the wall, some by shot, others by the sword, and they slew many of the souldiers, in the Town, where were abundance of Papists, and some Irish, the Major, the L. *Craford*, M. *Cole*, and the rest of the chiefe, fled to the Castle as soone as they saw the Scots had made a breach, and beat a parley, but the Scots pursued their victory, slew, as is supposed about 5. or 600 wounded many more, and placed a guard about the Towne, to keeep the rest in, against they have time to determine who have been Malignants, such as they know, as the L. *Rae*, and some Aldermen of the Town, that are not Papists now, were incendiaries, yet in action against the Parliament: they have imprisoned to the number of about 3. or 400. and there are divers honest godly people in the Towne, who are very joyfull of their coming, and the rather for that in such houses where good people are, they prejudice them not of the worth of a penny.

THURSDAY, *Octob.* 24.

This day the Propositions were read and finished, being completely perfected, with preface and conclusion, and ordered to be sent up to the Lords for their concurrence, and also, that the City Propositions should be speedily dispatched to be sent along with them.

Some Heads of the Propositions to be sent to the King.

1 That the Covenant be commanded generally to be taken, through the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, and that it be read in all Churches and Chappels.

2 That the taking of the Covenant be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

3 That the Act be passed against Bishops, Deans, and Chapters.

4 That an Act be passed for the speedy setling of the Church.

5 That an Act be passed for the utter extirpation of Popery, and that

Masse be utterly renounced, and prohibited by an Act, and not permitted to be said.

6 That an Act may be passed for the due observation of the Lords Day.

7 That an Act be passed against Pluralities of Livings.

8 That an Act be passed for the reformation of the Universities, and all Colledges and Schooles

9 That an Act be passed for the putting down of Stage-playes and Enterludes.

10 That an Act be passed for the relieſe of maimed Souldiers, and of such as have lost their husbands or fathers in the Warres.

11 That an Act be passed for putting down the Court of Wards.

12 That an Act be passed for the free enjoying of Lands, without homage, paying the King a yearly summe.

13 That the King confirm the Sitting of the Parliament in Scotland.

14 That the King passe an Act for the Pacification with our Brethren of Scotland.

15 That theſe following be condemned before the Act of Oblivion be passed.

P. Rupert.	*Sir John Byron.*	*Secr. Windebank.*
R. Maurice.	*Sir Wil. Withrington.*	*Sir Rich. Greenvile.*
Earl of Newcastle.	*H. Jermin.*	*Edw. Hide.*
Bish. Canterbury.	*Sir Ralph Hopton.*	*Col. Wage.*
Bish. Ely.	*Sir Francis Dorrington.*	*Sir John Stranguidge.*
Earl of Derby.	*End. Porter.*	*Sir John Culpepper.*
Col. Goring.	*Sir George Ratcliffe.*	*Sir R. Lloyd.*
Earl of Briſtoll.	*Bish. Londenderrie.*	*M. Bodwill.*
L. Cottington.	*Sir Marm. Langdale.*	*M. Ienkins a Lawyer.*
L. Digby.	*Sir John Hotham.*	*L. Pawlet.*
L. Keeper.	*Capt. Hotham his ſonne.*	*Sir George Stroud.*
L. Heath.	*Sir Hen. Vaughan.*	*Mr. Attorney Orlew, &c.*

16 That all Iriſh Rebels be delivered up to Juſtice.

17 That all Papiſts in Armes againſt the Parliament may be in the ſame condition.

18 That all other who have born Armes may be excluded out of the verge of the Court.

19 That

19 That all such Judges, Serjeants at the Law, Counsellours, &c. that have joyned with them, may be made uncapable for ever hereafter, to have any place belonging to the Lawes, for to execute in the Courts of Justice.

20 That all such of the Clergie as have been aiding and assisting to them, may be disabled from the Ministerie.

21 That the third part of Delinquents Estates may be imployed for the paiment of the publike debts.

22 That the people of England may be trained up in such a Discipline as both Houses of Parliament shall think fit.

23 That so often as occasion shall be, the two Houses of Parliament may have liberty to have new Members, as they shall think fit, and fill up the House as others die.

24 That to leavie Forces by any forraigne Power, may be made treason by an Act.

25 That the Committee of both Kingdomes have liberty to meet, as occasion shall require.

26 That for the intervals of Parliament, there may be Commissioners chosen to sit, during that time.

27 That there may be an Order for the *Militia* to be setled, for the peace of Ireland.

28 That all Acts made by the great Seale (since it was stollen away) without consent of Parliament, and also that all Honours since made therewith be void.

29 That the Deputy-governours of Ireland may be nominated by the Parliament, or in the intervalls of Parliament, by the Commissioners.

30 That such Officers of trust as are chosen to Offices of State in England, may be nominated by the Parliament.

31 And that the like be also in Scotland.

32 That all the Kings children may be bred and educated in the Protestant Religion, and such Tutours appointed over them, as are known to be honest men, and of godly life, and that they may not be married to any without consent of Parliament.

33 That there may be all the means that possible can be used to settle the Palsgrave in his Principalities, but to exclude P. *Rupert*, and P. *Maurice*, and their children, from any benefit thereby.

34 That

34 That there be an Act of Oblivion, and a free pardon for all past.

35 That such as are convicted for theft, murder, or other crimes, having no relation to these warres, have no relation to the said pardon, &c.

FRIDAY. *Octob.* 25.

This day it was certified by Letters out of Lincolnshire, that by reason of the quantity of raine that hath lately fallen our Forces before Croyland, were disappointed of the purpose of storming the Town, of which Captain *Middleton* Commander in chiefe of the Horse, having intelligence, drew out a partie, and discovering them, fell upon them very furiously, slew 6. upon the place, tooke 30. Prisoners, 12. Horse, 40. Armes, wounded many, and routed the rest, so that hereby that Garrison is much weakned, if the weather were but dry to give them opportunity to lay siege again, there were 2. or 3. of Cap. *Middletons* men wounded, but none mortally.

This day there came Letters from Capt. *Swanly* at Milford Haven, which certifie, that he heard from Dublin in Ireland, that the Scots in Ulster have fallen upon the Rebells who came up against them with a very great Army, and have kild and taken 1000. of them, and routed and dispersed the rest, but this relation is not confirmed out of Ireland to the House, onely the last Letters from thence say, that the Rebells were then come up neer the Scots at Ulster with a great power.

This day it was certified out of the West, that Sir *Richard Chulmley* with about 2. or 300. Horse about Colliton, Axmister, and Bemester, and other places, on the confines of Dorsetshire, had drave many cattle from the Countrey people, whereupon Col. *Seely* the Governour of Lyme having intelligence thereof, drew out a party, who discovered the plunderers, fell upon them, tooke 56. of them, Horse, and Armes, and rescued all the plunder, and so routed the rest that they fled and dispersed themselves severall waies. The prisoners whereof 2. are Captaines, and 10. other Commanders, and Officers, were carried to Lyme, and the cattle restored to their owners; and *Chulmly* himselfe fled, shot in the shoulder, as is confest by the prisoners taken, besides many others sore wounded.

SATURDAY. *Octob.* 26.

Letters came from my L. Generall and the Earl of *Manchester*, certifying that his Excellency considering the good service done by Colonell *Jones* in Farneham castle, desired the Parliament to take care that the said castle under Col. *Jones* be supplied with such provisions as are needfull. It was also certified

certified that my L. Generall was not well: upon debate hereof it was ordered, that one of the House of Peeres, and two of the House of Commons should be chosen speedily to go to my L. Generall to visit him, and also to give him thanks for his care and good service. There was chosen the Earl of *Stamford* of the Lords House, and the L. *Grey* of Groby and Sir *Nevill Poole* of the House of Commons, who went this afternoon accordingly: also Col. *Long* and some other Commanders went along with them.

It was also by Letters this day certified, that the King was at Newberie on Friday last, and lies at a Cloathiers house in that Town, and his Forces quarter between Newberie and Dennington, about *Thetcham* and Spinnum land, the same place where he quartered before at Newberie Battell, & my L. Generals Forces, Earl of *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller* quarter about Bucklebury; the Kings Forces have pulled up Thetcham Bridge, to prevent our Forces (if they can) from falling upon them, and Oxford; and keeping too close to them: and our Pioners are laying the Bridge againe, because the waters are too high to passe over the Fords.

It was also further certified, that the Kings Forces shew themselves daily, but stay not to ingage themselves; yesterday being Friday, both Armies were drawn to a Battalia within a mile and half each of other; and if in the night the King did not advance, that this day there would be a battell, but that I referre to what followes.

This day Letters from Banbury certifie, that Col. *Fines* being there intrenching himselfe, there came a Letter to him certifying as followes.

SIR; There marched by me about 2000. *of the Enemies from Oxford, Wallingford, and Bostock, and* I *have sent* 200. *in their Reare, and* I *thought good to give you notice of it; yet* I *think it not safe for you to march towards Northampton, but rather to Warwick, whither* I *think it best for you to march with all speed: for they intend to fall upon your Quarters, if you stay at Banbury.*

Dated at Abbington Octob. 23. *Subscribed,* Brown.

I thought it safest to send this note by a countrey-fellow, lest if I had sent it by a Souldier, he should be discovered.

This Letter was brought by foure Troupers within foure mile of Banbury, there delivered to a Constable to be sent to Colonell *Fines*, as if it had beene sent from Major Generall *Brown*, whereas it was only an invention of their owne, to deceive Col. *Fines*, who searching wisely into the businesse, found it onely a trick of the enemy, who had drawn a party

out of Oxford, Wallingford, Bostock, to raise the siege, whereupon Colonell *Fines* the same day (which was Wednesday last,) immediately drew of the siege leaving onely a small party to keep the Town, and fell upon them, slew 3. took 30. Prisoners, 50. Horse, 2. horse-load of powder and ammunition, one Captaine Lievtenant, one Lievtenant, some other Officers, wounded many, and totally routed them, drave them into Oxford, pursuing them within halfe a mile of the Town, there gave them an alarum.

MUNDAY. *Octob.* 28.

From Croyland we had this day intelligence, that the enemy had again made a salley out, and surprized 40. of Capt. *wests* Wisbidge men: and an iron Saker.

This day the City presented a Petition to the House of Commons.

1 *For a speedy bringing of Delinquents to a tryall, particularly the Bishop of* Canterbury *and Bishop* Wren.

2 *For the present filling up of the House, with such Members as wanted, and those to be such as were knowne to be honest and godly men, and also to be chosen by honest men.*

This day Letters from Warwicke certifie, that the L. of Northampton with a party of about 1500. faced Col. *Fines* at Banbury, who placed a party to make good a Bridge which they maintained gallantly a certaine time, but seeing the enemy too strong, our Forces withdrew from Banbury to Warwick with all their Artillery and Baggage, save onely one piece of Ordnance overthrowne, one load of Muskets of 100. left, and one load of Ammunition spoiled.

In the morning the Committee of both Kingdomes, informed the House of Commons, that they had received Letters from the Commissioners, certifying that my L. Generall began to take his rest wel and to mend. And that with the losse of about 20. men we had gained Speene-hill, and the passage, and 50. or 60. slain of the Kings party.

Then came other Letters at out noone which certified, that the Armies were ingaged: and it was Ordered that the Assembly of Divines, should leave of other businesse and fall to prayers. At night Capt. *Pudsey* brought Letters to the Committee, which certifie, that my L. Generalls Foot fell on yesterday at 4. of the clock in the afternoon, and there followed a great fight, the Cannons playing, and execution with muskets and swords, so long as they could see. we tooke 8. piece of Ordnance, the Earle of *Cleveland* prisoner, and about 1000. kill and taken, the Kings Army routed, his Horse fled, and left their Artillery behinde, under Dennington, the King fled to Wallingford; and our Forces still pursuing their victory.

Printed for *R. Austin.* 1644.

An Additionall

ORDINANCE

OF THE

Lords and Commons

Assembled in

PARLIAMENT.

To a former *Ordinance* of the 19. of *February* last past, granted to divers persons Of the County of

MIDDLESEX,

Therein named, for putting the said County into a Posture of Defence, by the better regulating

OF THE

TRAINED BANDS,

And Raising other Forces of Horse and Foot, for the preservation, defence, and safety of the said COUNTIES.

ORdered by the Commons in Parliament, That this Ordinance be forthwith Printed and Published.

H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London: Printed for *Edw. Husbands. October* 29. 1644.

BRITISH MUSEUM

October 25. 1644.

An additionall Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, to a former Ordinance of the 19. of February last past, granted to divers persons of the County of *Middlesex* therein named, for putting the said County into a posture of Defence, by the better Regulating of the Trained bands, & raising other Forces of Horse and Foot, for the preservation, defence and safety of the said County.

WHereas by an Ordinance of the Nineteenth of February last past, certain persons therein named, were Ordained and appointed to be a Committee for Voluntiers of the said County, and such other Forces as then were or should be raised and imployed for the present defence of the said County, and the City of London, by the Order and advice of the Deputy Lieutenants of the said County, with power to raise such sum and sums of money, as by them should be judged convenient and necessary, for the raising, arming, arraying, trayning, disciplining, and mayntaining of the said forces, provided that it did not exceed the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds by the week: In pursuance whereof, and by the good endeavours of the said Committee, in execution of the power and directions thereby given to them; and by the voluntary and cheerefull subscriptions of very many well-affected inhabitants of the said County, without the Lines of Communication; there have been already raised, and Armed, two Regiments of Foot, consisting of neer four Thousand, besides two Hundred Horse and Foot in the Garrison of Woxbridge, weekly payd by the Inhabitants of the said County, without the Line, and more might

have long since been raised, with a body of Horse, proportionable to the said Foot, had these of the said County, within the Lines of Communication (who are equally concerned in the common danger, and benefitted by the common defence and safety of the said County) born their parts and proportions in the weekly rates and Assessements with the rest of the said County, according to the said Ordinance.

The Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, taking the same into their serious considerations, and foreseeing how necessary it is, both for the defence and safety of the said County, to make timely provision for the better preventing, and resisting of any forces that shall make, or attempt to make any insurrection in the said County, or any invasion, or incursion into the same, that the said County should be put, not only into a good posture of Warre, (for which purpose, the said Ordinance was intended) but also that there should be some further addition made to the said Ordinance, and some larger power granted to some Persons of known integrity within the said County, without the Line, for the raising of more forces, both of Horse and Foot, and the regulating of the same, with power to Levy such sum and sums of money, for the maintaining of such forces as shalbe raised, as to them shall seem convenient and necessary; Do think fit to Order and Ordain as followeth. And be it Declared, Ordered and Ordained by the said Lords and Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, That George Earl of D'Esmond, William Bridges Esquire, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir Edward Barkham, Sir Richard Springnell, Baronets, Sir John Danvers, Sir John Francklin, Sir William Roberts, Sir John Hippesley, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Trever, Sir John Thorowgood, Knights; Laurence Whittaker, John Huxley, Colonell Richard Brown, Thomas Wilcox, John Morris, Richard Downton, Justinian Paget, Gilbert Gerrard, Henry Mildmay, Tobias Massey, John Wroth, Edward Clarton, Robert Hampton, John Alford, James Hawley, Richard Grames, John Hervey, William Lane, Walter Williams, Daniel Proctor, Paul Nicoll, Anthony Aylmer, Christopher Cooper, Theodorus Willy, Esquires; John Wolverston, John Redding, Thomas Norwood, John Norwood, Junior, Thomas Weeks Junior, Augustine VVingfield, VVilliam Stisted, Edward

Edward Plumſteed, Iohn Barns, Iohn Dods, Daniel Cole, VVilliam Smith, Richard Troute, Thomas Treſwallen, Thomas Hogſleſh, Iohn Offley, Edward Preſcot, Matthew Coleburn, VVilliam Greenhill, Leonard VVealſteed, Henry Arundell, Samuel Edlin, Henry Hiley, Richard Nicoll, Stephen Ewer, Thomas Fletcher, Edward Nicoll, Iohn Gormſh, Chriſtopher Hill, Robert Morton, Thomas Childe, Ralph Iohnſon, Iohn Francklin, Arthur Nicoll, Robert Stanbrough, Ioſeph Downer, Daniell Enderby, Henry Finch, VVilliam VVarren, Iohn Smith, Iohn Haly, Daniel Brown, Iohn Rowſe, Iohn Hill, Iohn Brigmſhaw, Francis Childe, Iohn Pearce, VVilliam Smith of Iſleworth, VVilliam Maynard, Robert Cromwell, Ezekiell Tanner, VVilliam Turner, Iohn Finch, Ralph March, William Finch, VVilliam Atlee, Roger Nicoll, Richard Owen, Thomas Moor, Richard Pigge, Reynold Beacham, VVilliam Arnold, Henry Proctor, Iohn Arnold, VVilliam Earsby, Iohn Cleaver, Iohn Nutmaker, Robert Goodale, VVilliam Coones, Iohn Stevens, Matthew Baker, and Thomas Pit, Gentlemen, all of them Inhabitants of the ſaid County, without the Lines of Communication, and places mentioned in the weekly Bills of Mortality, ſhall be, and are hereby appointed, and Ordained, to be a Committee for the Militia, of the ſaid County of Middleſex, without the Lines of Communication, and places mentioned in the weekly Bills of mortality: and they or any Seaven or more of them, whereof two to be Deputy Lieutenants, within the Limits aforeſaid, ſhall have power, and are hereby authorized, to meet and ſit at ſuch convenient times and places; and as often as they ſhall think fit, for the better and more ſpeedy putting this preſent Ordinance in execution according to the true intents, and purpoſes therein conteined, And are hereby authorized, to raiſe out of the reſpective Towns, Town-Ships, Liberties, and places within the ſaid County, (other then in ſuch places as are within the Line of Communication) and weekly Bills of Mortality, ſuch forces of Horſe and Foot, as they or any Seaven or more of them, whereof two to be Deputy Lieutenants, ſhall from time to time think needfull for the neceſſary defence of themſelves, and the parts adjoyning, with whom they are, or ſhall be aſſociated for their mutuall defence, and to direct and appoint what perſons, and what numbers, and

Companies of persons, shall from time to time be sent forth Armed, and prepared to their place and places of Randezous thence to be led and conducted, by such Commanders, Colonels, Captains and Officers, as by the Deputy Lieutenants of the said County for the time being, or the greater number of them, shall be from time to time nominated and appointed; and by warrants under their hands, to be directed to such Constable or Constables, or other person or persons as they shall think fit, to commit such persons as shall fully refuse to do the said Service, or not appear at the places appointed unto prison, without bail or mainprize, untill he or they, shall conform themselves thereunto: And if any Officers or Souldiers, of the Trained Bands, or other Forces, either of Horse or Foot of the said County, have heretofore since the first of October last, refused or neglected, or if they, or any other Forces of Horse or Foot, already raised, or to be raised at any time hereafter by this Committee or Deputy Lieutenants as aforesaid, shall refuse or neglect upon Summons, according to this or other Ordinances of Parliament, to attend their charge and to appear with their Horse and Arms so charged upon them, or to send some able man with such Horse or Arms as they are charged withall, or to satisfie, discharge or pay, all such sum or sums of money, as is, hath been, or from time to time, shall be due, to, for, or by reason of their severall or respective Horses, Quarters, Riders, hired-men or otherwise, unto such person or persons, as shall be thereunto nominated and appointed by the said Committee, or any seven or more of them, two whereof to be Deputy Lieutenants, That then it shall, and may be lawfull, to, and for, the said Committee, or any seven or more of them, two whereof being Deputy Lieutenants, for every such offence, to impose such Fine, as to them shall seem fit, upon the persons, making, or having made default: Provided it exceed not the sum of five shillings per diem, upon him that shall finde or supply a Foot Arms, and ten shillings per diem, upon him that shall finde, or supply a Horse Arms. And if any that are charged to serve in the Arms of others, shall refuse or neglect to appear, and do their service upon Summons, That then the said Committee, or number as aforesaid, shall have power, and are hereby authorized to punish them by Fine

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or Imprisonment: Provided, That such Fine exceed not the sum of two shillings six pence per diem, upon him that serve: with a Foot Arms, and five shillings per diem, upon him that serves with a Horse Arms, or ten dayes Imprisonment for each; And also to punish by Fine or Imprisonment, all such as shall be mutinous, or disturbers of the Peace of the said County, or that otherwise shall be hinderers or contemners of the said service; Provided, the said Fine exceed not the sum of ten shillings for any one offence, or imprisonment, till they conform. And the said Committee or number as aforesaid, shall have power, and are hereby authorized to charge, Carts, Carriages, and Horses, for the furtherance of this service, allowing so much a Mile for a Cart and Horses, as the Committee, or number aforesaid, whereof two to be Deputy Lieutenants shall think fit. And in case of refusall, to punish the Owners by Fine or imprisonment, such Fine not exceeding the some of five pounds or imprisonment, for twenty dayes for every default. And further, to enable them to maintain, and pay, such Forces as shall from time to time, be raised, to be drawn forth upon occasion as aforesaid; The said Committee hereby made, or any seven, or more of them, whereof two to be Deputy Lieutenants of the said County, shall have power, and are hereby authorized from time to time to rate, assesse, and tax, or to nominate Assessors to rate, assesse, and tax, upon the respective Towns, Townships, Liberties, Persons, and Places, within the said County (other then upon such places as are within the Line of Communication, and weekly Bills of Mortality) in an equall way, according to their Estates and Abilities there, or according to the most usuall proportion of rates, in the last weekly Assessement there, such sum and sums of Money, as by the said Committee hereby made, or any seven, or more of them (whereof two to be Deputy Lieutenants of the said County) shalbe from time to time, judged fit and requisite for the said Forces, and also for discharging the Publike Debts, and Arrerages of the said County for Fortification of the Town of Woxbridge, and maintaining of the Garrison there, and other publike charges, since the first of October, 1643. And to nominate and appoint Collectors for the levying and receiving of the Moneys, so to

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be rated or assessed as aforesaid, according to this Ordinance, and to nominate a Treasurer or Treasurers thereof: Which said Collectors, shall collect the said sums of Money, so to be assessed or tared, weekly, or otherwise, and shall pay the same to such person or persons, as shall be so appointed Treasurer or Treasurers thereof, as aforesaid, and at such times and places as they shall receive direction in that behalf from the said Committee, hereby made, or any seven or more of them, whereof two to be Deputy Lieutenants of the said County: Which Treasurer or Treasurers so to be appointed, shall from time to time, pay, and issue forth, such Money as shall be so payed to him or them, in such sort, as the said Committee hereby made, or such of them as aforesaid, shall from time to time, by any Warrant or Warrants under their hands, direct or appoint, and shall keep a Register-book of all such sums of Money as shalbe so received or paid forth by him, them, or any of them, And shall from time to time give an attempt of all such sums of Money as shall be so received or payd forth, by him, them or any of them, unto the said Committee hereby made, or any two or more of them, whereof one to be a Deputy-Lieutenant of the said County (being thereunto authorised and appointed by the said Committee or number aforesaid) when and as often as they shall require the same. And if any of the said Assessors or Collectors, or any of them shall refuse the said service, or that they or any of them, or any Constable, Headborough or other person, shall refuse to do or execute any other act or service, which shall be required of them, or any of them, in execution of this Ordinance, or prove negligent or faulty therein, the said Committee hereby made, or such of them as aforesaid, shall have power, and are hereby authorised to commit such Assessors, Collectors, Constables or other persons, as shall so refuse, or be negligent or faulty, to prison, or to set such Fine upon him or them, as they shall think fit, so as such Fine for any one offence or neglect, do not exceed Ten pounds, or Imprisonment Twenty dayes; every of which Fines so set, shall be collected by the said Collectors, or such others as shall be appointed by the said Committee or some of them, and shall be payd unto the said Treasurer or Treasurers, and employed to the use aforesaid: And for the better advancement of this ser-

ſervice and encouragement of thoſe who ſhall be imployed therein by the ſaid Committee, It is ordained, that two pence in the pound ſhall be allowed to the ſaid Collectors, for every ſum or ſums of money, collected and paid by them to the ſaid Treaſurer or Treaſurers, and to ſuch Officers and others as ſhall be employed in this ſervice by the ſaid Committee, ſuch allowance and ſatisfaction as to the ſaid Committee, or number aforeſaid ſhall ſeeme meete and expedient, according to their ſeverall paines and employments. And if any Perſon or Perſons who ſhall be Fined, Rated, or Aſſeſſed by vertue of this Ordinance (and who by the true intent and meaning hereof is, are, or ought to be chargeable, or charged with the payment of any ſum or ſums of Money or Fine, which ſhall be ſet, rated or aſſeſſed upon him or them) ſhall refuſe to pay the ſame, or ſhall not pay the ſame unto ſuch Collector or Receivers who ſhall be appointed to collect or receive the ſame, upon demand thereof made by ſuch Collector or Receiver, as ſhall not ſend it unto ſuch Collector, Collectors, or Receivers, within foure daies next after notice thereof left in writing, at the place where ſuch Perſon ſhall be then dwelling and abiding; or where ſuch Perſon as ſhall be ſo fined or aſſeſſed did dwell, or abide at the time when ſuch fine was impoſed, or aſſeſſment made; That then it ſhall and may be lawfull to, and for the ſaid Collectors, Receivers, or any of them to leavie the ſums ſo impoſed or aſſeſſed by diſtreſſe and ſale of the Goods of ſuch Perſons ſo refuſing, or neglecting to pay whereſoever the ſame ſhall be found, deducting the ſum ſo impoſed or aſſeſſed, and the reaſonable charges of diſtreyning, and reſtore the overplus to the owner thereof; And if any Perſon or Perſons ſo diſtreined, or any other Perſon or Perſons, ſhall make any reſiſtance in the Premiſſes, the ſaid Collectors, or any of them may call to their aſſiſtance any of the Conſtables, Headboroughs, and companies of Trained Bands, Volunteers, or other Perſons in the ſaid County, who are hereby authorized and required, to be therein ayding and aſſiſting to the ſaid Collectors or Receivers, and every of them as they will anſwer the contrary thereof, upon penalty of ſuch fine as ſhall be thought fit by the ſaid Committee, or number as aforeſaid according to the nature of their offence, provided the ſaid fine

exceed not the ſum of twenty ſhillings: and for ſuch aſſiſtance are hereby authorized to pay them reaſonable allowance out of the offenders eſtate. And in caſe no ſufficient diſtreſſe ſhall or may be found, whereby to pay the fines, or ſums of money which ſhall be ſo ſet, rated, or aſſeſſed as aforeſaid; Then the ſaid Committee hereby made, or any ſeven or more of them, whereof two to be Deputy Lieutenants, ſhall have power to impriſon the Perſons of ſuch offenders, and are hereby authorized (for the uſe aforeſaid) to ſequeſter the Rents, and other the eſtates of all and every ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſo refuſing, or neglecting to pay the ſame, untill ſuch time as the double ſum of the ſaid fines, rates, or aſſeſſments ſhall be ſatisfied and payed. And in ſuch caſe alſo all the Armes of every ſuch Perſon, and Perſons ſo refuſing, or neglecting to pay any ſuch fine, rate, or aſſeſment, ſhall be taken away and ſeized by the ſaid Committee, or any ſeven or more of them, whereof two to be Deputy Lieutenants of the ſaid County, or their Agents, for the uſe and defence of the ſaid County.

And it is further ordained and declared, That every perſon who hath any eſtate in more places then one within the ſaid County, ſhall be rated and aſſeſſed in every of thoſe places reſpectively for ſuch eſtate as he hath there. And where any Lands or Tenements within the County are or ſhall be letten or ſet at or neare the yearly value thereof, ſuch perſon or perſons to whom the rent thereof belongeth, ſhall be wholly charged and ſolely aſſeſſed for the ſame: But where any ſuch lands or tenements are or ſhall be letten or ſet at any conſiderable under-value, then the ſum which ſhall be rated or aſſeſſed upon or in reſpect of thoſe Lands and Tenements, ſhall be apportioned by the ſaid Aſſeſſors, having an equall regard to the proportion of the rent which the Tenant thereof payes, and the cleare yearely value of the ſame Lands and Tenements over and above that rent; and ſhall be accordingly aſſeſſed upon the Tenant, and perſon or perſons to whom the ſame rent belongs. And what ſum or ſums of money ſoever are or ſhall be ſet or impoſed by virtue of this Ordinance upon any Landlord or Landlords, for or in reſpect of any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments held of them by any Tenant or Tenants, the ſame ſum and ſums of money ſhall be paid by their ſeverall and re-

reſpective Tenants, who ſhall and may deduct and defalke ſo much as they ſhall ſo pay, out of ſuch ſums of money and rents as are or ſhall be due or owing by them reſpectively to their reſpective Landlords, and may retaine the ſame to their own uſes reſpectively in ſatisfaction of ſo much as they ſhall ſo pay for their Landlords; And for ſo much as any ſuch Tenant or Tenants ſhall by vertue of this Ordinance pay for any ſuch Landlord, ſuch Tenant or Tenants, his and their Heires, Executors and Adminiſtrators, and every of them ſhall be thereof ſaved harmleſſe, and is, and are hereby thereof diſcharged againſt ſuch Landlord and Landlords, and his & their heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators and Aſſignes, And againſt all Diſtreſſes, breaches of Conditions, and all other penalties, forfeitures, dammages, loſſes, actions, ſuits and demands for the ſame, or by reaſon of ſuch Tenants not payment thereof to ſuch Landlord and Landlords, or other perſon or perſons for whom ſuch Tenant or Tenants ſhall pay the ſame by virtue of this Ordinance. And if any Tenant or Tenants that ſhall be ſet or charged, by virtue of this Ordinance, at any ſum or ſums of money for his or their Landlords, ſhall refuſe or neglect to pay the ſaid ſums, that then it ſhall and may be lawfull to and for the Collectors to levy the ſame by diſtreſſe and ſale of ſuch Tenant or Tenants goods as aforeſaid.

And be it further Ordained and Declared, That if any perſon or perſons who ſhall be rated or aſſeſſed either by vertue of this, or of the ſaid former Ordinance, ſhall find him or themſelves agrieved, and can make it truly and juſtly appeare, that he or they is or are over-rated; then ſuch perſon or perſons, at any time, before any diſtreſſe ſhall be taken of his or their goods for his refuſall or not payment of ſuch Aſſeſſement, may thereof complaine to ſuch of the Committee hereby made, or to any three or more of them, whereof one to be a Deputy-Lieutenant of the ſaid County, who thereupon for the relief and eaſe of ſuch perſon or perſons whom they ſhal judge to be ſo overrated, are hereby authoriſed to moderate or certifie the ſame, and further to do therein as in their diſcretions they ſhall think fit (which being a more ready way for the eaſe and relief of the parties complaining, then was provided by the ſaid former Ordinance, which in-

vested the Committee for the Weekly Assessments of the said County, or any two of them with power in that behalf: It is hereby Declared and Ordained, That all such power as by the said former Ordinance is given to the said Committee for Weekly Assessments, or any two of them, shall cease, and shall not be any longer put in execution. And for the better execution of the said former Ordinance, which in many things cannot be put in execution but by the major part of the Committee therein named, who being many in number, and many of them imployed upon other publike affairs, cannot so often meet to attend that service, as the necessity of it requires, It is hereby Declared and Ordained, That the said Committee hereby made, or any seven or more of them, whereof two to be Deputy-Lieutenants of the said County, shall have power, and are hereby authorised, to do and execute all and every such act and acts, thing and things, as the major part of the Committee named in the said former Ordinance, might, should, or ought to have done by vertue of that Ordinance: And that whatsoever the said Committee hereby made, or any seven or more of them, whereof two to be Deputy-Lieutenants of the said County shall do or execute, which the major part of the said Committee named in the said former Ordinance, might, could, should or ought to have done by vertue of that Ordinance, shall be as valid and effectuall, to all intents and purposes, as if the same had been done by the major part of the Committee named in the said former Ordinance. And it is further Ordered and Ordained by the said Lords and Commons, That the Deputy-Lieutenants of the said County for the time being, or the greater number of them, from time to time shall have power, and are hereby authorised to constitute, appoint, and make such of themselves, or of such other who are named to be Committees, either in this or in the said former Ordinance, or such other person or persons, as by such Deputy-Lieutenants or the greater number of them shall be thought fit, to be Colonels, Captains, and other Commanders and Officers over all such Forces both of Horse and Foot, as are or shall be raised by vertue of this, and of the said former Ordinance, or either of them; And the same Colonels, Captains and other Officers, from time to time, at their wills and pleasures

ſures to remove out of their places, and in their places to conſtitute, appoint, and make ſuch others as aforeſaid; and that from time to time, when, and ſo often as they ſhall think fit, but in ſuch nomination and appointment they are to take ſpeciall care, that ſuch Colonells, Captains, and other Officers as ſhall be ſo conſtituted and appointed by them, be men of known Integrity, and ſuch as may be reſident in the ſaid County, and may diligently and frequently Diſcipline and Exerciſe ſuch of the ſaid Forces as ſhall be under their reſpective Commands. And it is further Ordained and Declared by the ſaid Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, That the ſaid Forces, raiſed by vertue of this or the ſaid former Ordinance, ſhall be ordered, governed, and diſpoſed of by the ſaid Committee, or major part of them, four or more whereof being Deputy-Lieutenants of the ſaid County, and having reſidence within the limits aforeſaid, for the defence and ſafety of the ſaid County, and ſhall not at any time be drawn out of the ſaid County without their conſents as aforeſaid; and the ſaid County ſhall not be charged with the payment of them during their abſence, unleſſe by the aſſent and licenſe of the ſaid Committee hereby made, or the greater number of them, whereof four or more of them to be Deputy-Lieutenants as aforeſaid, who in all caſes of Imminent danger, or other Emergent occaſion, wherein they ſhall think it neceſſary and fit, are hereby authoriſed to give their licenſe and aſſent in that behalf, but in every ſuch caſe, and upon every ſuch occaſion, ſpeciall care is to be taken by them, that ſuch perſons as freely and liberally contribute towards the raiſing and maintaining of the ſaid Forces, may be ſpared from that ſervice, as much and as often as the ſaid Committee hereby made, or the greater number of them ſhall think it may ſtand with expedience and ſafety of the ſaid County. And it is further Ordained and Declared by the ſaid Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, That in regard a great part of the ſaid County is taken away for the preſent, by reaſon of the Lines of Communication, which otherwiſe would be liable to contribute towards the foreſaid Garriſon of of Woxbridge, & other publike charges of the ſaid County, that whatſoever ſum or ſums of mony, or other goods of

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any Delinquents that shall be intercepted or discovered by means of the said Garrison, shall be wholly at the disposall of the Committee named in this Ordinance, or number as aforesaid, towards the maintenance of the said Garrison, and other publique charges of the said County: Provided, and be it further Ordained and Declared, That the said former Ordinance of the Nineteenth of February shall, as to all the power, purposes and things therein contained (except onely as to such of the powers thereby given, as are hereby Ordained, to cease, and not to be put any longer in execution) shall continue, and be in full force and effect, Nevertheless with such alterations and additions as are hereby made or intended; All which are to be put in execution, according to the true intent and meaning of this Ordinance, and shall be as effectuall to all intents and purposes, as if the same had been at first contained in the said former Ordinance. And it is lastly Ordered, Declared and Ordained, That the good endeavours of the Committee named in this and the said former Ordinance, and either of them, and of all such other person and persons as shall be active or assisting in the execution of the premises, or in advancing or furthering of this service, are and shall be taken as reall and publique Testimonies of their good affection to the publique-weale; And they and all such others as shall act according to the true meaning of this and the said former Ordinance, or either of them, shall be for so doing protected and saved harmlesse, and Indempnified by the power of the Parliament: Provided, that this Ordinance shall continue and be in full force for six Moneths and no longer.

FINIS.

A

LETTER

Sent to the Honourable

William Lenthall, Esquire,

Speaker of the House of *Commons*,

wherein is truely Related the great Victory obtained by Gods blessing, by the

Parliaments Army,

Against the

Kings Forces,

Neer *NEWBERY*, on Sunday the 27. of this present *October*.

VVhich Letter was read in the House of *Commons*, and Ordered to be Printed.

Hen. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London: Printed for *Edw. Husband*. *October* 29. 1644.

Honorable Sir,

THough our other Imployments, in and about the Army, may excuse us in point of News; yet being Eye-witnesses of this late Fight, and knowing your kinde acceptance of some presents, though without the Circle, and especially desirous to expresse our joy for this success, which the Lord of Hoasts upon his own day has vouchsafed us, we presume to press in with the crowd, and to make it more cleer, shall give you the preceding circumstances: After a weeks tedious, but speedy march of my Lord Generalls Infantry, and one nights refreshment at Reading, in two dayes further progress we drew up afore Newbery, as neer the Town as the Enemies Canon would suffer. This was upon Friday the 25 of Octob. the King kept within the town, guarded by his Artillery; but his body of horse and foot drew out into Speenfield, the mid-way twixt the town and castle; both to make his Army seem more numerous, and to embattle them in a place of extraordinary advantage; that day afforded nothing

nothing save an interview (the interposing river hindered our desired fight) on their side appeared rather a declining to be ingaged, either that their numbers were not equall, or from an expectation of Prince Ruperts advance with 3000 horse or Dragoons, and the return of the Earl of Northampton from Banbury with 1000.) The Enemies strength is reported to have bin 8000 foot and 5000 horse, which albeit a gallant Army, yet upon our drawing into a Battalia, they durst not take the field, but to counterpoise our numbers with his stratagems; he fell mainly to fortifie the town, especially the Avenues, & having rais'd his batteries, & lin'd the hedges, stood upon his guard, & with some great peeces, where he saw the biggest bodies, & most advantage, liberally sent us some balls, which kill'd 2 or 3 horse, but hurt not their riders. For many hours some parties of horse skirmisht twixt both the Armies; in which play we had the best: Of our part, but one man fell, of theirs four or five, of which, one was Knighted. It being impossible to ingage them, without much hazard, that night the greater part of our Army marcht to Cheveley. The horse commanded by Sir Will. Waller, and Sir Will.

Balfore: The Foot, by Sergeant Major Generall Skippon, whilest the other incampt before the East side of the Town, and ordered by the Earl of Manchester, at one same time having agreed, to storm the Garrison on both sides. That night, and the next, We quartered in the open field: but neither the coldnesse of the Weather, nor want of usuall Provision, any whit disanimated the Souldier; the expectation of fight, swallowing up all other extremities. Howbeit, most of them had three dayes Provision prepared by Command in's Snapsack. By day break upon Sunday, the Horse and Foot commanded by Sir Will. Waller, and Major Gen. Skippon, were upon their march, in four hours surrounded Dunnington Castle, and made their approach towards the West of Newbery. By the way we intercepted two or three Carts of their Provision, intended they say for his Majesty; but in respect an unworthy rate about Him, share with Him, and that our men more needed it, We disposed it. And at the same time took neer 100 Horse and Foot of theirs, straglers. To recompence which, they fell upon our Rear from the Castle, and took ten or 12. of ours prisoners. Upon this march

We

we received the report, that Newcastle was taken by storm, and the Ulster Rebels totally defeated. Happy news: but of double use, so neer our ingagement. It was one, ere the train and rear came up, and neer three ere we could be put into Battalia. With extraordinary shouts, and other symptoms of courage, and joy, the Western Body advanced, and by the forlorn hopes of Horse, quickly begun the fight, which with as much eagerneſſe was seconded by the Foot; so as for three hours the fight was maintained with as much resolution and bravery on our side, and desperateneſſe on the other, as hath been seen since the commencement of these wars; the Canon & small shot on both sides firing with as quick a motion as was possible; and amongst the foot, to speak impartially, his Excellencies Regiment did eminently well, of whom and of the rest we can speak very justly; we neither saw man or party, horse or foot, either to dissert his duty or dis-hearten his fellow; but after a long and hot dispute, we beat them first from their Work, and then from their Ordinance, 9 in number; in which Atchievement we lost a few men, but with them Capt. Gawler, a Glamorganshire Gent.

Who

who by an honorable and triumphant hazard bequeathed it to us with his life, an expression sufficient to entitle him True to his charge, notwithstanding his captivity in Cornwall. The day was of so much discontent to his Majesty, that wrapping up his losses with the night, an hour after mid-night hee marcht out of the town with an Attendant-troop only, towards Winchester, and sent up his Canon, Carriages and Baggage to the Castle, where (at day-break) we saw them placed. Upon the first intelligence of their departure, Col: Cromwell followed the body of the Enemy two hours before day, the issue of which as yet we hear not of. Our men are full of spirit, and heightened by this Victory. The Enemy have little to support them, but their Rodomonts. In the mean time, as an addition and signall of good successe, we have the Earl of Cleaveland prisoner, taken by a Lieutenant of Col: Berkleys, he wonders how Gen: Goring escaped, but his brother payd his accompt, being shot dead as he charged; most of his Troop were cut of: Major Trevillian, and divers other whose bodies are seen, but names as yet undiscovered: Above 200. slain of theirs, and 300. more Prisoners;

of

of which, Philpot, Mildmay, son to Sir Humphrey and Nevyt. We hope for a prosecution of this victory. God direct our Counsell, continue our courage, prevent our wants, and inlarge our hearts with praise. For this silences their braves of Cornwall, and indeed 'twas resented by our men, with that indignation, that very few of that County had quarter afforded. The King at his departure hence, told the Mayor (as they say) that they were wicked Roundheads: For since his being amongst them, they had never furnisht him with any intelligence; whereas the County had upon every occasion given him notice of every thing.

We have Ordered and Proclaimed hereupon a penalty, That every man that has any of the Enemies Arms, bring them to the main Guard, for the use of the Army. We have commanded in also many Teems, and Horse to draw our new Train, and the wounded men, and have assisted the Commissaries for provision: And understanding that twelve Chests for Chirurgery are coming towards us, shall carefully see them disposed according to your intentions. Sutlers are not wanting; and such as be in pay, and absent, shall be noted against Musters.

Musters. This is all, saye that by Divine Providence this poor Town was saved from firing by the Enemy, rather then we should possesse it. Suffer onely the Addition, that we are

Sir, your Honours most humble
and most faithfull Servants,

Newbery,
28. *Octob.* Munday.

Martin Pindar, *Thomas Herbert*,
John Prickman, *Stephen White*.

The Chirurgeons Chests of Medicaments are come this day very seasonably, and we have distributed them to such as are here to receive them.

FINIS.

17

A LATE

DIALOGUE

BETWIXT A *CIVILIAN* and a *Divine*, concerning the present condition of the Church of *ENGLAND*.

In which, among other particulars, these following are especially spoken of.

1 *The sinne and danger of delaying Reformation.*
2 *That there is a certain form of Church-Government* Jure Divino.
3 *That there was an Ecclesiasticall Excommunication among the Jews.*
4 *That Excommunication is an Ordinance in the New Testament.*
5 *Concerning the Toleration of all Sects and Heresies.*
6 *Some Answer to a late Book come from Oxford.*

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1 Thes. 5. 21.
Prove all things: hold fast that which is good.

Published by Authority.

Octo: 30

LONDON:
Printed for *Robert Bostock*, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard at the Signe of the Kings Head. 1644.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A LATE DIALOGVE
Betwixt a *Civilian*, and a *Divine*,
concerning the preſent condition of the
CHURCH of ENGLAND, &c.

Divine.

GOOD Morrow to you good Sir.

Civilian.

I am glad to ſee you Sir, will you take a walk with me this morning, and tell me what good newes yee have heard, for I have not yet been in *Weſtminſter* Hall, the place moſt infected with the *Athenian* diſeaſe.

Divine.

I can tell you no newes at this time.

Civilian.

You look as you were not well pleaſed to day, pray you tell me, have you heard any bad newes from the North or from the Weſt.

Divine.

None truly, but this I confeſſe, that though I cannot but allow thoſe who from their affection to the Cauſe, are inquiſitive of newes from ſeverall quarters, and labour to make ſome good uſe of what they heare; yet for mine own part, one thing ſticks with me, which ſuffereth me not either to be ſo curious in ſeeking, or ſo

joviall in hearing newes, as many others are. The truth is, I am more afraid and apprehensive of our owne, then of our enemies victories.

Civilian.

This is a most strange paradox, what can you mean by it? I hope you are not turned malignant.

Divine.

If it be *Paradoxall*, yet I am sure it is *Orthodoxall*, I remember judicious *Calvin* said the same of the *German* warres in his time. There is more danger, said he, like to come by our owne then by our enemies victory. I desire his words may bee well observed, and applyed. I dare say, God is more gracious to us in continuing this war of ours, then if he should answer our desires in putting an end to it presently. When God blesseth our forces with any great successe, nay when hee doth but draw back his afflicting hand a little, and giveth us some lightning of our eyes, O how doe we by and by forget God, and slight both Humiliation and Reformation. * Then *Jesurun forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation.* * But, *when he slew them, then they sought him, and returned and inquired after God early.* There were never serious and deep thoughts, either in the Parliament, or in the Kingdome, of fasting and praying, of covenanting with God, of purging our hearts, our lives, our families, of reforming the Church, according to the word, of building the Temple according to the patterne, of caring for the things of Jesus Christ more then for their own things; never but when we felt Gods hand smart and heavy upon us. And if now

* Deut. 23. 15.
* Psal. 78. 34.

Calv. Opusc. de Scandalis quib. Evangelia professio longè latèq; in Germania regnante, & integræ adhuc essent eorum vires, qui ad tuendam bonam causam videbantur animati, hacq; fiducia susceptum esset luctuosum hoc bellum, quod, infeliciter cessit: vectii in magnas spes, partis nostræ animis; dixi al quando publicè, plus à nostra, quàm hostium victoria, nobis instare periculi. Neque enim tam metuendas esse ullas clades, quàm nimis triumphale, ut ita loquar, Evangelium, quod nos adinsolentiam efferret. Nec vero me istius vocis hodie quoque puniret. Nisi prophanæ licentiæ Dominus maturè obviam isset, morbus fuisset temporis successu propemodum incurabilis. Nulli doctrinæ pijsque monitionibus fuisset authoritas, &c.

the ſword of the Lord ſhould be ſtill, and *England* a quiet habitation, every man ſitting *under his own vine, and under his owne figtree*: I verily believe our great State-Phyſitians ſhould heale the wound of the daughter of *Sion* ſlightly, and daube the wall with untempered morter, and the Church of God in this Kingdome ſhould have dry breaſts, and a miſcarrying wombe, inſtead of bringing forth the manchild of Reformation, now ſticking in the birth, but having no ſtrength to come forth, till ſome new pains and pangs quicken and carry through the work.

Civilian.

I muſt confeſſe the Reformation of our ſelves and our families hath been, and is ſtill, too much neglected. But for Nationall and Church-Reformation, I doe not know what can be more done then is done, conſidering our inteſtine diviſions among our ſelves, which as Mr. *Fox* obſerveth was the undoing of the Church and of Religion in King *Edwards* dayes, and is like to prove the bane of Religion and Reformation in our dayes. *Ita dum ſinguli pugnant univerſi vincuntur*: as *Tacitus* ſpeaketh of the ancient Britiſh.

Act. & Mon. vol. 2. p. 1373. edit. 1583.

In vit. Iul. agric.

Divine.

Sir, I deſire that firſt of all this may be laid downe as a ſure Principle, that the purity and liberty of the Goſpel, and of the Ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt, is to bee more eſteemed of, and ſought after then all or any thing in this world. That it is ſaid as well to States and Parliaments, as to particular perſons: *Seek yee firſt the Kingdome of God and the righteouſneſſe thereof, and all theſe things ſhall be added unto you.* The ſetling of Religion is to be looked upon, as *cauſall*, not as *conſequent* to the peace and proſperity of the Kingdom. Doe but prove the Lord

Matth. 6. 33.

Mal. 3. 10.

Isa. 26. 1. 1. Sam. 2. 30. now herewith, and see if he will not *appoint salvation for walls and bulwarks*, if he will not *honour those that honour him*, if he will not be zealous for those that are zealous for him. The *Trojans* believed that *Troy* could not be taken except their idoll *Palladium* were taken away from them: which being once taken away by *Vlysses* and *Diomedes*, they observed that shortly thereafter their Town was destroyed. *Arnobius* tells us that when the Image of *Jupiter* was throwne down in the *Capitoll*, and was lying upon the ground, the heathenish Sooth-sayers did foretell sad and heavy things which should never be removed till *Jupiter* were set in his owne place; which if it were not done, that they did in vain hope for the preservation of the lawes, or the healing of their homebred divisions. Shall those Pagans rise up in judgement against us Christians, who doe so overly and slightly goe about the building of the house of God, and the erecting of the throne of Jesus Christ; who care for something else more then for his Church and Kingdome, his glory and his ordinances, who seek our owne things, not the things which are Jesus Christs.

Camer. oper. subcis. cent. 3. cap. 13 *Advers Gentes, l. 7 Respuisse dicitur de ab hara spicibus edium, res sanctissimas portendi, incendia, cædibus, ablegum interitu, & ab urbis occasu, maxime tamen à domesticis hostibus, atque ab impia conjuratorum manu. Sed fieri hæc posse, imo alter publicari salvatæ non posse consilia, nisi Jupiter versus altius in cælum fuerit.* Plal. 2. 21.

Civilian.

No man can say against this, that true Religion is the *Alpha* and *Omega* of a Kingdomes happinesse, and that it is their surest foundation and strongest bullwark of Peace, Liberties, and Lawes. And I trust the Parliament will ever be most tender and carefull of it, and put it in its own place as they have frequently professed in their Declarations, and really manifested in calling and keeping together an Assembly of learned and pious Divines, the results of whose debates and consultations they will take to their consideration in due time, for setling the government of the Church, and the worship of God.

Divine.

Divine.

If you would really and carefully indeavour, to doe what you profeſſe to intend, I have no more to ſay, but that the ſucceſſe is to be committed to God, you having done your duty. But aſſuredly the practiſes doe not anſwer to the profeſſions, nor the performances to the promiſes.

Civilian.

For that I muſt tell you a ſtory which I remember that I have read, in *Diodorus Siculus* of *Pharnabazus* who after many ſlow preparations, did at laſt lead forth *Artaxerxes* his Army againſt the *Egyptians*. This man being asked by *Iphicrates*, why he was ſo nimble and ready in diſcourſe, and ſo ſlow in action, why he did promiſe ſo much, and performe ſo little: anſwered, becauſe hee was maſter of his words but King of his actions: meaning that actions were not ſo much in his power as words.

Divine.

All things are poſſible to him that believeth. Doe not ſay with the ſluggard, *There is a Lyon in the way*. If you would but doe your duty in going about the thing, truſt God with the event. Now aſſuredly it is your duty to carry on the cauſe of Religion in the firſt and principall place, which that I may the more preſſe upon you, I will adde unto that which hath been ſaid, the notable example of *Solomon*, 1. *King*. 6. 37, 38. & 7. 1. *In the fourth year was the foundation of the houſe of the Lord laid, in the moneth Zif, and in the eleventh year in the moneth Bull (which is the eight month) was the houſe finiſhed throughout all the parts thereof, and according to all the faſhion of it. So was he ſeaven yeares in building it. But Solomon was building his own houſe thirteen yeares.* Neither did he begin to build his own houſe, till thoſe ſeven yeares

yeares were ended, and the house of the Lord fully perfected, as appeareth clearly by 2. *Chron.* 8. 1. *and it came to passe at the end of twenty yeares, wherein Solomon had built the house of the Lord, and his owne house.* After all which (as followeth in that place) hee took care for store-Cities, and fenced Cities, for tribute, and for his navy. *Tostatus* and other Interpreters observe, that *Solomon* looked first to the Lords matters, and afterwards to his owne matters. And *Iosephus* his observation is very much to be taken notice of. *The building of the Temple* (saith he) *which did continue for seven yeares being finished, he went about the building of the Palace, which in the thirteenth yeare, he did scarcely finish, for hee did not take so much care of this work, as of the building of the Temple, which though both large and more glorious then can be beleeved, was through Gods assistance perfected in the foresaid space: but the Palace though very farre inferiour to the magnificence of the Temple, yet the materialls thereof not being so long before prepared, and the house being to be builded for the King, not for God, it was the more slowly brought to perfection.*

Antiq. l. 8 c. 2.

Civilian.

But I beseech you where is the fault with us? and what could be more done then is done?

Divine.

O but my heart bleeds to think how it goeth for the present, and how it is like to goe for the future with this distracted unsetled Church, what fruits have wee yet reaped of our many petitions and indeavours for reformation of Religion, of our solemn Covenant, of the learned debates and long consultations of the Assembly of Divines. Meethinks that which was said of *Ephraim*, *Hos.* 13. 13. agreeth too too much to *England*. *The*

sorrowes

ſorrows of a travelling woman ſhall come upon him, he is an unwiſe Son, for he ſhould not ſtay long in the place of the breaking forth of children. I wiſh we may beware of that which ſome ſtories have obſerved to have been a moſt unhappy errour in the Emperour *Frederick* 3. who did ſo far connive at all things, that when he was put in mind to look to this or that, to prevent this or that danger, hee was wont to anſwer as *Felix* did, the time of amending thoſe things was not yet come, hee would wait for a more convenient ſeaſon; which ſeaſon hee could never ſee? I am perſwaded it lyeth heavy upon the ſpirits of thouſands beſide my ſelfe, to know that every man doth now in Religion what ſeems good in his own eyes, Errors and Schiſmes doe multiply, in moſt places of the Kingdome, there is a darkneſſe inſtead of divination, and people are like ſheep that have no ſhepheard: and for ought I can ſee, betwixt our forſaking of the old, and finding of a new way, wee are fallen in a wilderneſſe where there is no way, O when ſhall I once ſee Religion ſetled?

Civilian.

When the warre ſhall be huſht, the State ordered and compoſed, the Peace of the Kingdome ſecured; it is not to bee expected till then that the Parliament can have much leiſure to look to Church-matters: yet they will no doubt, doe the beſt that may be for the interim. Marvell not if I ſay more, that the Parliament doth wiſely in moving ſo ſlowly: The ſlow and wary motions of *Fabius* did overcome *Hannibal*, whereas the heat and ſuddenneſſe of *Minutius* did indanger the Commonwealth. Suddain courſes (I doubt) ſhall not ſo much glad us in the beginning, as grieve us in the end.

Divine.

I have read in ſome Polititians, that though that of

Augustus. ---*Festina lente*, doe well agree to calme and peaceable times: yet *Alexander* his Μηδὲν ἀναβαλλὸ μηδὲν *nihil cunctando*, is fitter for times of trouble and warre, and so they reconcile the one with the other. *Kekerm. discurs. de consilio quæst. 7.* It is not safe to dispute long, in the time of a present combustion, nor to consult long about the cure, when the patient lyes a dying; But I desire to argue from the principles of my owne profession: God did of old reprove his people, because they said, *The time is not yet come, the time that the Lords house should be builded.* This they said at that time when *Iudah* and *Benjamin* had powerfull adversaries, when the land was not secured, nor the walls of *Ierusalem* built. They might have pleaded for themselves enough of this kind, but all this could not excuse them at Gods hands: he would have them build the Temple before the walls of *Ierusalem*. And in this they harkened to the Prophets of God, and did so. Thereafter God taketh themselves to witnesse, whether he had not blessed them from that very day when they laid the foundation of the Temple: Nay *I* dare say it is not only good *Divinity*, but good *Policy*, that the Parliament should mind the things of Christ, more then their own things: for if (as I suppose) you will believe *Machiavell*, hee teacheth you that the setting up of the ordinances of Christ, is the best way to make a Kingdome flourish in prosperity and peace. I conclude therefore that procraftinations in reforming Religion may prove very pernitious aswell to the Common-wealth, as to the Church. And for my part I must confesse, I am afraid that the Parliament hath felt, and shall yet feel Gods hand against them in other things, because of their doing the work of the Lord so negligently, and at the best by halfes. I wish the Honourable

Hag. 1. 2. *De Repub. l. 1. c. 12. Quicunq; principes atq; Reipub. Semet ipsis conservare cupiunt, in id unum præcæteris incumbere debent, ut verum religionis cultum recte instituant & venerentur.* Et infra, *quod si hæc tam diligens cura divini cultus, à Reipub. Christianæ Principibus observata esset, secundum primæ institutionem, & præcepta ejus, qui illam nobis primum tradidit: longe majori felicitate, ac pace in orbe Christiano fruerentur. Valerius Maximus l. 1. c. 1.* gives us six instances of examplarie judgements among the *Romans*; which were observed to fall upon such as despised Religion, & the honour of the Gods.

ble Houſe of Commons may remember what they were about at that inſtant, when the ſad newes of the diſperſion of the Army in the Weſt, were brought to them: And if they ſhall inquire at God, as *Iob* did, *Shew mee wherefore thou contendeſt with me.* I doubt not but they ſhall heare the voice of his ſervants, the voice of his rods, and the voice of their owne Conſciences telling them that he hath *ſomewhat againſt them*: that hee healeth not the breaches of the land, becauſe they heal not the breach of the daughter of *Sion*: that hee makes the ſucceſſe of the warre to halt, becauſe they halt betwixt two, or rather many opinions. Iob. 10. 2.

Civilian.

I doe fully agree with you if all this be underſtood of the fundamentals of Faith and Religion, and the power of godlineſſe. But if ſo be, you meane of the government and diſcipline of the Church, then you make *Mountaines* of *mole-hills*, and put *Hercules* ſhoe upon an infants foot, whiles you hold that God is not pleaſed, and that the Kingdome cannot be bleſſed, unleſſe the order and diſcipline of the Church bee eſtabliſhed ſo and ſo as you would have it. I doe not acknowledge either the *Epiſcopall* way, or the *Presbiteriall*, or the *Congregationall*, to be *Iure divino*. But that all things of that kind are left in ſuch an indifferency, that they may bee moulded and faſhioned diverſly according to the different formes and conſtitutions of Common-wealths, and altered as much and as often, as each State ſhall find moſt convenient for it ſelfe. If you can convince me that I am in an error, go to, let me heare your reaſons.

Divine.

I ſhall indeavour by Gods aſſiſtance to ſatisfie you. But firſt of all let me uſe this humble liberty with you,

once to put you in mind of the Apoſtles premonition,
1. Cor. 3. 18. *Let no man deceive himſelfe: if any man among you ſeem to be wiſe in this world, let him become a foole that hee may bee wiſe.* Hee that moſt denieth his owne naturall judgement in ſupernaturall veritie, and is not *conformed to this world, but is transformed by the renewing of his mind;*
Rom. 12. 2. ſhall beſt *prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God.* Abſque te ſapere, eſt deſipere. *O Lord,* ſaith *Auguſtine, to be wiſe without thee, is to be mad.* Do not therefore meaſure *Scripturall* truths, by *Politicall* principles, but contrariwiſe, and let your judgement be unbyaſſed and unprejudiced, when light is ſet before you. And whereas it ſeemeth to you a veniall thing, if not altogether lawfull to take a latitude in all ſuch things as are not *ſubſtantiall* (though *Scripturall*) truths, and may (you conceive) admit a variation upon State-conſiderations. Remember I beſeech you that it is the pleaſure of God to take notice of, yea purpoſely to try
Luk. 16. 10. our obedience, *Etiam in minimis: For hee that is faithfull in that which is leaſt, is faithfull alſo in much, and he that is unjuſt in the leaſt, is unjuſt alſo in much.* How was the Lord offended with *Ieroboams* ſetting up of Altars at *Dan* and *Bethel*: yea even with the Kings of *Iudah*, for not taking away the high places, though *Ieroboam* migh have pleaded that it was extreamly dangerous (in regard of the warre betwixt him and *Rehoboam*) that his ſubjects ſhould goe up to *Ieruſalem* to ſacrifice unto the Lord there. And the Kings of *Iudah* might plead, that it was too burthenſome for all the people to be tyed to go to *Ieruſalem* with their Sacrifices: that God would have mercy and not ſacrifice; eſpecially conſidering that they held the foundation, and ſacrificed to the Lord only; And this variation from the law of *Moſes*, being in no

ſubſtantiall

ſubſtantiall thing, but only in the circumſtance of place. In like manner *Ieroboam* thought not fit to have the feaſt of Tabernacles upon the fifteenth day of the ſeventh moneth, but upon the fifteenth day of the eight moneth, when the fruits of the earth were more fully gathered in: he would obſerve the feaſt according to the law in all the ſubſtantialls, but would not bee tyed to the circumſtance of time. But God doth utterly reject his worſhip, becauſe *Ieroboam* had deviſed it of his ewne heart. 1. King. 12. 33.
If therefore the will of Jeſus Chriſt can be made to appear from his word, even concerning the form of Church-government and Diſcipline, and ceremonies of worſhip, that thus and thus he would have us to do, will you then quarrell at theſe things, becauſe ſtamped with a *Ius divinum*? Will you draw out your neck from this yoke, becauſe it is Chriſts yoke? Will you ſubmit and obey becauſe theſe things are ordinances of Parliament, and you will not ſubmit becauſe they are ordinances of Chriſt.

Civilian.

You ſay right, if you can make it appeare that Jeſus Chriſt hath revealed his will and Commandements, not only concerning faith and manners, but how he would have his Church governed and ordered. Now this is it which you have yet to prove.

Divine.

For that, I ſhall deſire you to conſider, that Jeſus Chriſt is the only Head and King of his Church, that the government of his Church is a part of his Kingly office: that *the Government is committed into his hand, and the key of the houſe of David is laid upon his ſhoulder*; Iſa. 22. 21, 22. Pſal. 2. 6.
that the Father hath *ſet him as a King upon his holy hill of Zion, to raign over the houſe of Iacob for ever, and of his* Luk. 1. 33.

Kingdom there ſhall be no end. As therefore he hath fully and faithfully executed his Prieſtly office in making attonement for our ſins by the ſacrifice of himſelfe, and ſtill making interceſſion in heaven for us. And his Propheticall office in revealing the whole Counſell of God, and teaching his people by his word and ſpirit, what he would have them to do. So he hath no leſſe fully & faithfully executed his Kingly office and Legiſlative power, in providing by his Statutes and Ordinances for all the neceſsities of his Church; and appointing by whom and after what manner he will have his houſe governed, what ſpirituall Courts and Judicatories hee would have erected, how he would have them conſtituted, by what rules to proceed, how to cenſure offences. It is an old obſervation, they are the beſt lawes, which leave leaſt to the power of the Judge to doe as he liſt. It were a bad adminiſtration of the ſupreame power in any Kingdom, if no certaine kinds of ſubordinate officers, nor no certain kind of government were appointed, but all this left to the liberty of every Country or City. Now Jeſus Chriſt is more wiſe, and provident, and faithfull, in the government of his whole Church, then ever King or Parliament was in the government of an earthly Kingdome; and hath therefore appointed Officers, Courts, Cenſures, and Lawes, for the right ordering thereof; and hath not left theſe things to bee determined by this or that State at their pleaſure. I ſhould wiſh you and all that are of your mind, to ſtudy better the Kingly office, and prerogative Royall, of Jeſus Chriſt.

Civilian.

I conceive the Kingly office of Chriſt to conſiſt in this, that he preſerveth, ſtrengtheneth, and delivereth the Church inviſible, and all the members of his myſticall

call body from the malice of the Divell, and the wicked world, and alſo ruleth and commandeth their hearts by his ſpirit, to walk in the wayes of his obedience. But that the Kingly office of Chriſt reacheth ſo farre, as to the externall government and order of a viſible politicall miniſteriall Church, that I ſtill doubt of.

Divine.

You obſerve not that my argument did conclude this very thing, at which you ſtick, that Chriſt hath appointed a certain policy and government, and certain kinds of officers for the Church, becauſe hee hath fully and faithfully diſcharged his Kingly office in providing for all the neceſſities of his Church. And that hee raignes and rules in his Church, not only *myſtically*, but *politically* conſidered; I ſuppoſe you cannot deny, if you obſerve that otherwiſe a viſible politicall Church is a body without a head, and ſubjects without a King. Therefore it is the ordinary expreſſion of our Divines againſt Papiſts, that the government of the Church is partly *Monarchicall* in regard of Chriſt our King and Law-giver; partly *Ariſtocraticall* in regard of the Miniſters and Officers, and partly *Democraticall* in regard of certaine Libetties and Priviledges belonging to people.

Civilian.

I would underſtand whether the Reformed Churches hold the forme of their Eccleſiaſticall government to be *jure divino*, for I have heard, that it was introduced among them only in a prudentiall way.

Divine.

I ſhall give you ſome cleare inſtances of their judgement, ſuch as come to my remembrance. In the Book of the policy of the Church of *Scotland*, I read thus.

This power and policy of the Church ſhould leane upon the word

word immediately, as the onely ground thereof, and should bee taken from the pure fountaines of the Scriptures, the Church hearing the voice of Christ, the only spirituall King, and being ruled by his Lawes. In the *French* confession it is said, *We beleeve that this true Church ought to bee governed by that Regiment or Discipline, which our Lord Iesus Christ hath established.* In the *Belgick* Confession, I find words to the same purpose. *We beleeve*, say they, *That this Church ought to be ruled and governed by that spirituall Regiment, which God himselfe hath delivered in his word.* See *Harm. Confes. Sect.* 11. If the question were only this, whether the Divine right of this or that form of Church-Government is to be mentioned and held forth in the ordinance of Parliament, for my part I should not contend much for that, the businesse going right otherwise. But it belongeth at least to the Assembly of Divines to satisfie the consciences of men by holding forth the institution and ordinance of Jesus Christ: which if it bee not done, our proceedings shall not be conformable to those of other Churches.

Civilian.

Well then, goe on; you did bring an argument from the Kingly office of Jesus Christ. Let me heare what other arguments you have to make it appeare that God hath in his word descended so farre into paricularities with us, as to appoint a certain forme of Church-government.

Divine.

This will appeare best, when the particular forme of Church-government with the Scripturall grounds of it, shall be taken into consideration. This government is *Iure divino. Ergo*, a government is *Iure divino.* This were too large a subject for our conference. But I remit you

you to what is largely written concerning it. I ſhall only put you in mind, that in all ages God hath by poſitive Lawes deſcended into many particularities with man. Take for inſtance beſide the poſitive Law before the fall, the Commandement not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evill, other poſitive Laws before the Law, ſuch as that of the diſtinction of clean and uncleane beaſts, *Gen.* 7. the Law not to eat blood, *Gen.* 9. the Law of circumciſion, *Gen.* 17. Under the Law, beſide morall and forenſicall obſervances, there were many ceremoniall Statutes. And under the Goſpell, Chriſt and his Apoſtles have left another Law, which though it lay upon us, neither many nor burthenſome performances, yet bindeth us to ſuch and ſuch things in Eccleſiaſticall policy. The particulars we find in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and in the Epiſtles, eſpecially to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and *Rom.* 12. and 1. *Cor.* 12.

Civilian.

Many particulars of that kind there are in the Acts and Epiſtles of the Apoſtles. But that thoſe things were intended as perpetuall and binding ordinances, is a great queſtion. And beſide I have heard ſome learned men make a diſtinction betwixt *Ius divinum*, and *Ius Apoſtolicum*.

Divine.

This diſtinction was uſed by thoſe that denyed the *jus divinum* of the Lords day. But ſurely it is an ill grounded diſtinction, and thoſe that make moſt uſe of it, are forced alſo to diſtinguiſh betwixt *Ius divinum*, and *Ius Moſaicum*, holding that though God was the Author of the morall Law, yet *Moſes* (not God) was the Author of the judiciall and ceremoniall Law: as the Apoſtles did write ſome things as Chriſts Heraulds: other things

as Paſtors or Biſhops of the Churches; that they were Authors of the latter, promulgators only of the former, and that therefore the former only were *Iure divino*. Thus ſaith *Salmeron*, but hee is in this contradicted by *Bellarmine*, *Maldonat*, *Suarez*, and others. *Lorinus* in *Pſal.* 88. 32. noteth, that it was one of the errors of *Valentinus* and of the *Gnoſticks*, that the Decalogue only was from God; and other Lawes from *Moſes* and the Elders of Iſrael. But what ſaith the Apoſtle himſelfe after hee hath given rules concerning the policy of the Church, *Let the Prophets ſpeak two or three, and let the other judge; and the Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets. Let your women keep ſilence in the Churches*, &c. Then he addeth, 1. *Cor.* 14. 37. *If any man think himſelfe to be a Prophet or ſpirituall, let him acknowledge, that the things that I writ unto you, are the Commandements of the Lord.* Doe wee not alſo find, the laying on of hands reckoned among thoſe catechetical heads which the Apoſtles did deliver as perpetuall to all the Churches, *Heb.* 6. 2. Papiſts underſtand the Epiſcopall confirmation. Diverſe of our writers underſtand ordination of Miniſters, and the ſeverall kinds of Church officers. However it is agreed on both ſides, it is a thing belonging to the policy of the Church, not to the foundation of faith or piety. I adde that the directions given to *Timothy* and *Titus* are ſtanding ordinances for all the Churches, as may be proved from 1. *Tim.* 3. 15. and 6. 14. and 2. *Tim.* 2. 2.

Tract. 62. *in Act.*

Civilian.

But *Ratio mutabilis facit præceptum mutabile.* The reaſon why there were ruling Elders and Deacons, and Church-cenſures at that time was, becauſe there was no Chriſtian Magiſtrate. So that under a Chriſtian Magiſtrate

ſtrate there is no neceſſity of ſuch officers, government, or cenſures in the Church.

Divine.

I anſwer, Firſt there is no ground at all in Scripture for ſuch a diſtinction, for the Scripture holds not out one form of Church-government, for times of perſecution, another for times of peace. But rather one form to bee perpetuall and continued, till the ſecond coming of Jeſus Chriſt. *Rev.* 2. 24, 25. *That which yee have already, hold faſt till I come.* So 1. *Tim.* 6. 14. before cited, and the like. 2. *Chryſoſtome Hom.* 12. in 1. *Cor.* doth ſhew diverſe ſinnes for which the beſt Law-givers had appointed no puniſhment. And where there are Chriſtian Magiſtrates, yet there are no Lawes nor civill puniſhments for ſome things which muſt needs fall within the compaſſe of Church-diſcipline, ſuch as ignorance of God, neglect of family worſhip, living in malice, or envy, &c. 3. And though the civill or municipall Lawes ſhould reach to all offences which are ſuppoſed to fall under the verge of Church-diſcipline, yet there is ſtill a neceſſary uſe of both. For inſtance, a Traitor, or a Murtherer being excommunicated by the Church, is by the bleſſing of God gained to true repentance, humiliation, and confeſsion, whereupon hee is looſed and remitted, and again received into the boſome of the Church: nevertheleſſe the civill ſword falleth upon him; were hee never ſo penitent, ſhall ſuch a one either eſcape the civill ſword becauſe reconciled to the Church, or ſhall he after God hath given him mercy, and a great meaſure of repentance, die under the dreadfull ſentence of excommunication, becauſe Juſtice muſt bee done by the Magiſtrate. There is no way of avoyding great inconveniences on both ſides, but by holding the ne-

ceſſary diſtinct uſes both of the ſword of the Magiſtrate, and cenſures of the Church. 4. And when they are moſt coincident, it is but materially or objectively, not formally: one and the ſame man muſt bee civilly puniſhed, becauſe juſtice and the law of the land ſo requireth, and that the Common wealth may bee kept in Peace and Order; he muſt alſo bee Eccleſiaſtically cenſured, that his ſoule may be humbled, that hee may bee filled with godly ſorrow, and with ſhame and confuſion of face, and drawn to repentance, (if poſsible) which the Church, not the Magiſtrate, driveth at.

Civilian.

I have heard it aſſerted by ſome learned men, that among the Jewes, there was no government nor diſcipline in the Church diſtinct from the government of the State, yea, that there was no ſuch diſtinction as Church and State, but that the Jewiſh Church was the Jewiſh State, and the Jewiſh State the Jewiſh Church; and if it was ſo among them (whoſe formes you take in many particulars for patterns) I would fain know why it may not be ſo among us.

Divine.

Though the Jewiſh Church and Common wealth were for the moſt part not different materially, the ſame men being members of both, even as in all Chriſtian Republikes, yet they were formally different one from another, in regard of diſtinct Acts, Lawes, Courts, Officers, Cenſures, and Adminiſtrations. For, 1. The Ceremoniall law given was given to them as a Church, the Judiciall law given to them as a State. 2. They did not worſhip, doe ſacrifice, pray, praiſe, &c. as a State; nor did they kill malefactors with the ſword as a Church. 3. As the Lords matters and the Kings matters were diſtinguiſhed,

ſo

so there were two different Courts for judging of the one and the other, 2. *Chron.* 19. 8. 11. *Fourthly*, when the *Romans* took away the Jewish State and Civill government, yet their Church did remain. 5. The government of the State and the constitution thereof was not the same under the Judges, under the Kings, and after the captivity: shall we therefore say that the Church was altered and new moulded, as oft as the Civill government was changed. 6. Learned Master *Selden* hath rightly observed, that those Proselytes who were called *Proseliti justitiæ*, though they were initiated into the Jewish Religion by Circumcision, Baptisme, and Sacrifice; and were free not only to worship God apart by themselves, but also to come into the Church or Congregation of the Israelites, and did get to themselves the name of Jews: yet were restrained and debarred from Dignities, Magistracies and preferments, as also from some marriages which were permitted to the Israelites. He addeth a simile of strangers initiated and associated into the Chuch of *Rome*, who yet have not the priviledge of *Roman* Citizens: whence we gather most apparently a distinction of the Jewish Church and the Jewish State; for as much as those Proselytes were imbodied into the Iewish Church, and as Church-members did communicate in the holy ordinances of God, yet they were not properly members of the Iewish State, nor admitted to Civil privileges.

De jure natur. & Gentium l. 2. cap. 4.

Proselytus Iustitiæ, utcunq; natus a patria nomine Judæus dicatur, non tam quidem civis Iudaicus simpliciter censendus est quam peregrinus semper eius jura quamplurima inter cives. Selden. loc. citat.

Civilian.

But I find no censure nor punishment of offences in the Iewish Church, except what the Civill power did inflict, no such censure as excommunication or separation from the Temple, Synagoue or ordinances. And since you have cited Master *Selden* for you, I will cite him against you, for he saith in his late Book, that hee who was separate or excommunicated among the Jewes,

De anno civili Iudæor cap 18. Neque enim à Templo, Sacrificiis, aut Conventibus sacris omnino quis apud eos ex sententia aliqua Excommunicationis, sive sponsi, sive alia humana arcendus erat.

was not excluded from the Temple, Sacrifices or holy Aſſemblies, but only debarred from the liberty of Civill worſhip, ſo that he might not ſit within foure cubits of off his companion or neighbour.

Divine.

I ſhall doe M. *Selden* ſo much right as to appeal from him to himſelf, for in another place where he writeth at greater length of the Jewiſh excommunication, he deſcribeth it to have been a ſeparation, not only from the former civill commerce and company in regard of that diſtance of foure cubits, but alſo from communicating together in prayer and holy Aſſemblies. And that it was ſo, it is not only the moſt received opinion of Proteſtant Divines, but even of thoſe who have devoted themſelves to the ſtudy of the Jewiſh Antiquities, ſuch as *Druſius*, *Johannes Couh*, *L'Empereur*, and others.

Selden de Iure natur. & Gent. li. 4. c. 9. Atq; in plane à communicatione orationis, & conventus, & omnis ſancti commercii relegabatur, quemadmodum de. hujuſmodi anathemate, ſub initiis Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ loquitur Tertullianus.

Druſius Quæſt. & Reſp. lib. 1. queſt. 9. Solebant autem veteres (Judæi) ſi quis gravius deliquerat, primum eum movere cœtu Eccleſiaſtico: ſi non emendabat ſe, tum ferebant anathemate: quod ſi nec tum quidem redibat ad frugem, ultimo ac poſtremo loco ſamatizabant. Johannes Coch. annot. in Exc Gemar. Sanedrim. cap. 1. Qui ſimpliciter excommunicatus eſt (menudda) eſt ille quidem ſeparatus à cœtu, ita ut pro vero membro Eccleſiæ non habeatur. Dr. *Buxtorf. diſſert. de literis Hebræor. th. 49.* hath obſerved a notable paſſage in *Pirke*, and in *Ielammedenu*, which maketh much for this point in hand. It is concerning the *Samaritans*, who being circumciſed by two Elders of Iſrael ſent to them, and having received the book of the Law, were afterwards upon juſt cauſes excommunicated by *Ezra*. *Quid fecit Eſras & Zerubbabel filius Shealtiel, & Iehoſua filius Iehozadak? Convocaverunt totum cœtum in Templum Domini, & venire fecerunt trecentos Sacerdotes, trecentos pueros, trecentas buccinas, & trecentos libros legis in manu eorum, qui clangebant, Leviteæ vero canebant & pſallebant, & excommunicabant* (in *Ielammedenu* ומחרימין ומשמתין ומנדין that is, they did excommunicate in all the three degrees or kinds of excommunication) *Cutheos per ſecretum nominis Tetragrammati, & per Scripturam quæ ſcripta fuit in Tabulis, & per anathema domus Iudicii ſuperioris, & per anathema Iudicii inferioris; Ne quis unquam ex Iſraele comederet panem Cuthæi, unde dixerunt; Quiſquis comederit carnem Cuthæi, perinde eſt ac ſi comederet carnem porci: item ne quiſquam Cuthæum faceret proſelytum, h. e. in Iuda ſinum reciperet, &c.* Whereby it is manifeſt, that the Jewiſh excommunication was a ſhutting out as well from ſacred as from civill communion, and that by publick Authority.

Brughton alſo in his Expoſition of the Lords prayer, *pag.* 14. *&c.* tells us that the Jewiſh Church and the Apoſtolike Church, though they differed about traditi-

ons

ons and about the *Messiah*, yet *for government they agreed*. He giveth instance in these particulars, the rulers of the Synagogue, the readers of the Law, and the Prophets, the qualities of a Bishop, or Elder, the providing for the poor, *the maner of excomuunication and absolution*, the laws to bridle Elders from Tyranny: *All these are the same in both*, saith he. Now these men were most exquisitely acquainted with those studies: and their Testimonies may serve instead of many more that may be added. Hereunto that distinction of 3. kinds of excommunication received from *Elias in Thesbyte*, *Niddui*, *Herem*, *& Saumatha*, whether we understand as some doe, that *Niddui* was a separation according to the ceremoniall law, and *Herem* the devoting of one to death, and capitall punishment; or whether we distinguish betwixt *Niddui* & *Herem* (which two only are mentioned in the law) as we use to doe betwixt *excommunicatio minor*, and *major*; which is the opinion of others.

Civilian.

It may be there was a separation or ejection from the Temple, Synagogue, & worship, but I deny that this was done judicially or by the sentence of a Court, for as M. *Selden* observeth, the very letter of the law, not any judiciall sentence did exclude the unclean from the Temple.

De anno civili, cap. 18.

Divine.

I answer, men were excluded from the Temple and worship, either for ceremoniall or morall uncleanes, the former is particularly determined in the law, the latter not so, but left as a necessary consequence from the law, for if God would have men kept back for ceremonial uncleanes, it may be for touching (though casually and unwillingly) a vessell, a seat, a cloth, a body, or somewhat else that was unclean; surely it was much more his will that such as are morally unclean by a prophane or scandalous life, should not be admitted. However it was necessary

ceſſary that matters of fact ſhould bee examined by a Court, whether they did fall within the verge of the law or not. But what will you ſay, if I give you ſcripture for excommunication, by a judiciall ſentence. *Ezra* 10. 8. we read of a mixed meeting of the Princes, Elders, Prieſts and Levites, where it was decreed that whoſoever would not come to *Ieruſalem* within 3. dayes, ſhould bee puniſhed, with the forfeiture of all his ſubſtance; *and himſelfe ſeparated from the congregation of thoſe that had been carried away*. A double puniſhment Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, forfeiture and excommunication, according as that extraordinary occaſion made a conjuncture and concurrence of the Civill and the Eccleſiaſticall Sanedrim at that time, *Lyra*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, *Cajetan*, and of ours *Diodati*, and *Lavater*, all upon the place (beſide others who cite the place occaſionally) do agree that the ſeparation from the congregation (ἀπὸ ἐκκλησίας as the 70. read it, it is *Kahal* in the Hebrew) is meant of excommunication from the Temple and worſhip: even as that caſting out mentioned, *Iſa* 66. 5. So in the new Teſtament this iniquity was eſtabliſhed by a law, that whoſoever ſhould confeſſe that Jeſus was the Chriſt, ſhould be caſt out of the Synagogue, *Io.* 9. 22. and 12. 42. and 16. 2.

Civilian.

But there is not in all the law of *Moſes* any ſyllable of ſuch an excommunication as you ſpeak of, except you take that to be it, which is often repeated in the law, *that ſoule ſhall be cut off from among his people*. Now that may be expounded either of capitall puniſhment and cutting off by the hand of the Magiſtrate; or (as *Ainſworth* and M. *Selden* following the moſt part of the Hebrewes expound it) of cutting off by the hand of God, that is, that God would not ſuffer ſuch a one to live out halfe his dayes, but take him away by an untimous death.

Divine.

Divine.

I know that both Jewiſh and Chriſtian Interpreters have much differed among themſelves, in expounding that commination of the Law. But I ſhall only offer my reaſons againſt theſe two Gloſſes which you have mentioned, and then tell you what I conceive to be the true meaning. To expound all thoſe places of the Magiſtrates cutting off men by death, were to make the Laws of God more bloody then *Draco's*: I appeal to your ſelf, doe you thinke it at all credible, that God would have men put to death for eating of the fat, or the blood, though by chance, for making a perfume like the Preiſtly perfume to ſmell, for touching a dead body, or a grave, or a Tent, wherein a man had died, or for touching ſomething which he that was uncleane had touched, and not being ſprinkled thereafter with the water of ſeperation: yet for theſe and the like ceremoniall defilements and treſſpaſſes, men were to be cut off from the Congregation of *Iſrael*. Now for that other Expoſition, of cutting off by the hand of God, that which they take for the ground and foundation of it, that is, that the cutting off, mentioned in the Law, is underſtood only of private ſinnes, known to God only, and which could not be proved by witneſſes, this I ſay, if it could be proved, would indeed make good their Interpretation, but the truth is, it is a meere conjecture, for which they have no warrant in the Word. Nay, the Word is againſt it: for the end of that cutting off, was that the Children of *Iſrael* might feare to doe that, which they ſaw ſo ſore puniſhed. *Levit.* 17 4,5. Which uſe they could not make of a divine judgement inflicted for a private ſinne. I know they doe further object from *Levit.* 17.10. & 20, 5, 6. that

Exod. 30.38. Lev. 7.15.17. Num. 19.13. 20.

the cutting off, was a work of God, not of men: But to that I ſay, it was not ſo, except in extraordinary caſes, when men, who ſhould have cut off the wicked; did it not: and this appears plainly from *Levit.* 20. 4, 5. *And if the people of the land hide their eyes from the man, when he giveth of his ſeed unto Molech, and kill him not: Then* (marke *then*, and in that caſe) *I will ſet my face againſt that man, and againſt his family, and will cut him off.* Wherefore I conclude, that the cutting off in the Law, and eſpecially, in the Ceremoniall Law, can be nothing elſe but Excommunication from the Church, and Communion in the holy things. Which as it is moſt received among our Expoſitors, ſo the Apoſtle. 1 *Cor.* 5. doth give us a hint of it: for as it is plaine from *verſ.* 6, 7, 8. that he alludes to the hiſtory of the Paſſover, *Exod.* 12. ſo when he ſaith, *verſ.* 13. *Put away from among your ſelves that wicked perſon*, he hath reſpect to, *Exo.* 12. 19. Where it it is ſaid, *Whoſoever eateth that which is leavened, even that ſoul ſhall be cut off from the Congregation of Iſrael.* All this I conclude with a Paſſage of Mr. *Williams* his *bloody Tenent, cap.* 121. where though he doth not acknowledg a ſpirituall excommunication in the Jewiſh Church, yet he acknowledgeth ſuch a coercive power in cutting off, as hath for the antitype and paralell of it Excommunication in the Chriſtian Church. *Out of that bleſſed temporall eſtate,* (ſaith he) *to be caſt or carried captive, was their Excommunication or caſting out of Gods ſight.* 2 *Kings* 17. 23. *Therefore was the Blaſphemer, the falſe Prophet, the Idolater, to be caſt out, or cut off from this holy land: which puniſhment cannot be parralelld by the puniſhment of any State or Kingdome in the world, but only by the excommunicating or out-caſting of perſon or Church from the fellowſhip*

of

of the Saints and Churches of Christ Jesus in the Gospel; For this ſpirituall cutting off, he citeth 1 *Cor.* 5. *Gal.* 5. Behold he who hath pleaded moſt for the liberty of conſcience, is forced to acknowledge the cenſure of Excommunication.

Civilian.

But can you ſhow any warrant from the New Teſtament for Church Cenſures and Excommunication, as an Inſtitution and Ordinance of Chriſt. I know your *Magna Charta*, which you pretend to, is *Mat.* 18. 17. *Tell the Church, and if he heare not the Church, let him be unto thee, as an Heathen man, & a Publican.* But the ſence of that place, I take to be that which was given by *Eraſtus* and *Bilſon*, that is, That in the caſe of private and civill injuries, the injured party ſhould firſt of all ſeek right and reparation of the wrong, of the injuring party, which if it take not effect, then to doe it before witneſſes, and if that alſo prevaile not, then to tell the Church, that is the Sanedrim of the Jewes, which was a civill Judicature, and if the man that hath done wrong, will not ſtand to the ſentence of the Sanedrim, that then one ſhould deale with him as with an Heathen, or a Publican, that is, complain of him to the Roman Emperor or his Deputies. Mr. *Prynne*, in his late Booke called *Independency examined*, *pag.* 10. following Maſter *Seldens* judgement, holdeth, that by the Church, *Matth.* 18. 17. is not meant any Eccleſiaſticall Judicatory, but the Civill Court, or Sanedrim of the Jewes, Even as *Ib. pag.* 11. he holdeth the Aſſembly of the Apoſtles Elders and Brethren, *Act.* 15. to be an undeniable Scripture Authority, for Parliaments as well as for Synods, to come together upon all like occaſions. And as for theſe words, *let him be to thee as an Heathen*

and a Publicane. he understandeth the meaning to be, that not the Church, but the party offended, is to avoid his company: taking the same to be meant, 2 *Thes.* 3. 14. a place which I have also heard alledged for Church Dicipline, and Censures.

Divine.

Though Mr. *Prynne* be a man much esteemed by me, both for his sufferings, and much good service done by him in the Church, yet I must say, he wrongs both the Truth and himself, in taking upon him to goe against the whole current of Interpreters, antient and moderne, without any evidence of reason: and he must remember, that in these particulars, hee doth not so much oppose the Independents, as all the Reformed Churches, while as he goeth about to throw out of their hands the chief Scriptures upon which they ground Church Discipline. Now all the circumstances of the Text, make against that Exposition, and prove, That it is not a Civill, but a Spirituall Court, which Christ there establisheth. For 1. those words, *If thy Brother trespasse against thee*, are not ment of personall or civill injuries (of which our Saviour Christ would not be Judge, *Luke* 12. 14.) but as *Augustine*, *Tostatus*, and others doe rightly expound them, they are to be understood, of all manner of scandalls, by which we trespasse against our Brother, in as much as we trespasse against the law of Charity, which commandeth us to edify one another, and to promote the spirituall good one of another: now when a Christian doth not only not edify, but scandalize, which is a deterioration; yea, (so farre as lieth in him) a destruction of his brothers soule; this is undeniably a great trespasse against his brother: which kind of trespasse, as the King, and head of the Church, Jesus Christ,

whose

whose Kingdom is not of this World) was to take speciall notice of: so the coherence and dependance of the Text, giveth further evidence, that this, and no other kinde of trespasses is here intended, there being so much spoken of scandalls in the preceeding passages of that Chapter.

2. As the case supposed, so the end proposed is spirituall, that is, that the offended brother should reprove the offending brother, and tell him his fault, and that for the good of his soul: *If he shall heare thee, thou hast gained thy brother*; that is, thou hast rescued his soule by Repentance, from sinne, and so from the wrath of God: wherein Christ had respect to that Law, *Lev.* 19. 17. *Thou shalt not hate thy Brother in thy heart; thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sinne upon him.*

3. The persons judging, are not civill but Ecclesiasticall, *Tell it unto the Church*, now in all the New Testament, the name of the Church is not given to any Civill Magistrate. Nay Christ himself doth immediately give us notice, that by the Church there, he means the Ministers and Rulers of the Church, for thus he applyeth it unto the Apostles, and their successors, *Whatsoever ye shall binde, &c.* and *if two of you shall agree, &c.* And here by the way, I must tell you, that if the Jewish Sanedrim were here meant (as it is not) you could not thence conclude that a civill Court is meant, for there was an Ecclesiastical Sanedrim, distinct from the civill, as beside many other great Authors) is proved by *Constantinus, l' Emp. Annot. in Cod. Middoth, p.* 188. and *de Rep. Jud. p.* 389. Which Ecclesiasticall Sanedrim were the rather to be understood in this Text, because the other Sanedrim was destroyed by *Herod.*

4. The way and manner of proceeding, is alſo Eccleſiaſticall, not civill; when Church Governours meet about thoſe things, it muſt be with Prayer, *verſ.* 19. and it muſt be in the Name of Chriſt, *verſ.* 20. which places, though they well agree to all holy Aſſemblies and meetings for Worſhip, yet the context ſheweth, that they are principally intended concerning Aſſemblies for Diſcipline and Church cenſures; and ſo *Toſtatus*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, with our own Divines, doe expound the Text.

5. The cenſure is ſpirituall, as appeareth both by the alluſion to the Jewiſh Excommunication (of which I have ſpoken before) in thoſe words, *let him be unto thee as a Heathen, or a Publican*; and by the phraſe of binding the ſoule, or retaining of ſinnes, *verſ.* 18. which power, our Lord elſewhere giveth to his Apoſtles, *Mat.* 16. 19. *Jo.* 20. 23. formes of ſpeech, which no where the Scripture uſeth of any civill power: only it is to be obſerved, that in theſe two places laſt cited, the Apoſtles get power to binde and looſe by their Doctrine and Preaching, but here, *Mat.* 18. to binde and looſe by Diſcipline, as appeareth by the uſe to be made of witneſſes, *verſ.* 16. that is, *poteſtas clavium doctrinalis*: this *poteſtas clavium diſciplinalis*. That is *miſticall*: this *politicall*. And whereas it is objected, that the Text ſaith not, *let him be to the Church*, but, *let him be to thee as an Heathen and a Publican*. I anſwer, it is ſuppoſed, that he muſt be ſuch in the judgement of the Church, before he be ſuch to me. This *Parens* upon the place, proveth from the words that follow, *Whatſoever ye ſhall bind, &c.* therefore ſaith he, the Church is firſt to bind him, that is, Excommunicate him, and then he is to be to me as an Heathen, and a Publican. Beſide, if it were

not

not ſo, horrible confuſion ſhould follow, while as any private man may Excommunicate and caſt off whomſoever he judgeth to be diſobedient to the Church, though peradventure he hath no juſt cauſe to judge ſo.

6. It was very farre from the minde of Jeſus Chriſt, that his Diſciples ſhould for private injuries proſecute one another, before the Roman Emperour or his Deputie: This being ſo much blamed by the Apoſtle *Paul.* 1 *Cor.* 6. 1. *Dare any of you, having a matter againſt another, goe to law before the unjuſt,* verſ. 6, 7. *Brother goeth to law againſt Brother, and that before the unbeleevers. Now therefore, there is utterly a fault amongſt you.*

Civilian.

Can you ſhew any example or practice of ſuch an Excommunication in the New Teſtament: for that place, 1 *Cor.* 5, 5. I doubt ſhall not prove: there being not only great Authors, but great reaſons for another Expoſition, as *Moulins* ſheweth in his *Vates. l.* 2. *c.* 11. namely that this delivering to Sathan, was for bodily afflictions and torments, which was not in the power of ordinary Miniſters to doe, but was a Prerogative of the Apoſtles.

Divine.

If you will, I can debate that with you, both from that very Text, and from other reaſons, that this delivering to Sathan, was an act not of the Apoſtle alone, but of the Presbytery of *Corinth*, whereby is meant Excommunication, which is a cutting off from the Fellowſhip of the Church, and ſo conſequently, a delivering to Sathan, who reignes without the Church, and holdeth captive at his pleaſure the children of diſobedience. Or if you will, I can take a ſhorter courſe with you.

you. For whatsoever may be the meaning of that phrase, *tradere Satanæ*, it is most plaine, that Excommunication is in that Chapter, *vers. 6,7. Know ye not, that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lumpe, purge out therefore the old leaven*, verse 11. *If any man that is called a Brother, be a fornicatour, &c. with such an one, no not to eate.* vers. 12. *doe not ye judge them that are within*, verse. 13. *Therefore put away from among your selves that wicked person.* 2 *Cor.* 2. 6. *Sufficient to such a man, is this punishment or censure) inflicted by many.* But I suppose, I shall not need to prove Church-censures, and Excommunication in the Church of *Corinth*: which *Moulins* himself doth fully acknowledge to be held forth in that same place.

Certum quid m est, Paulum vel hunc incestum moveri communion: Ecclesiæ: sed id vu't fieri ab ipsa Ecclesia: Corinthica, dicens, vers. 13. Tollite illum scelerarum de medio vestrum vult enim id fieri ministerii ordinarii authoritate Molinæus, lib. 2. cap. 11.

Civilian.

I will thinke further upon these things.

Devine.

You may doe so, and withall, read what *Beza* hath written against *Erastus*, and *Walæus* against *Witenbogardus*.

Civilian.

But tell me now your opinion of another matter, and that is concerning liberty of Conscience, and toleration of Hereticks and Sectaries, for which there are so many bookes written of late, and so few against it. I doe not know what you will pronounce of it, from the Principles of your Profession, but I beleeve, that as in *Germany*, *France*, *Holland*, *Poland*, yea under the Turkish Tyranny, contrary religions, and opposite professions and practises, have been, and are tolerated upon State-principles; so it shall be *Englands* unhappinesse, though not to chose, yet to be necessitated to grant such a tolleration, for avoiding a rupture in the Kingdome,

and

and for preſerving an Union againſt the common Enemy.

Divine.

This Queſtion about the Toleration of thoſe whoſe way is different from the common rule which ſhall be eſtabliſhed, muſt be both ſtated and reſolved, *cum grano ſalis*. We muſt remember to diſtinguiſh perſons from Corporations or Churches, and both theſe from errors. Againe, to diſtinguiſh perſons, whether godly and gratious, or looſe and libertin, whether moderate and peaceable, or factious and turbulent; whether ſuch as have deſerved well of the publike, or ſuch as have done either no ſervice or a diſſervice. To diſtinguiſh Corporations, whether the Queſtion be of ſuch onely as have a preſent exiſtence, or of all who ſhall joyne to ſuch a way afterward. To diſtinguiſh errors, whether Practicall or Doctrinall onely: whether fundamentall, or circafundamentall, or neither of the two. To diſtinguiſh Toleration, whether abſolute, or Hypotheticall and conditionall, whether any where, or in ſome few certaine places onely, whether indifinite and generall, or limited and bounded, and if bounded, how far and how much: Whether ſuch Toleration as may ſtand with the ſolemne league and Covenant, or ſuch as is inconſiſtent therewith; whether ſuch as is profitable for the publike peace, or ſuch as is apparently deſtructive thereto. Theſe and the like particulars I doe not intend to fall upon at this inſtant. Only this I ſay, that to open a wide doore, and to grant an unbounded liberty unto all ſort of Hereticks and Sectaries, (which is the thing that *the good Samaritan*, and *John the Baptiſt*, *the bloody Tenent*, and others of that kind do plead for as it is inconſiſtent with the ſolemne league and Covenant

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of the three Kingdomes, by which we are obliged to endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacie, Superſtition, Hereſie and Schiſme, leaſt we partake in other mens ſinnes, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues: So it is in the owne nature of it, an error ſo pernicious, ſo abominable, ſo monſtrous, that it maketh all learned men to ſtand amazed, and taken with horrour, in ſo much that they can not at firſt gather their thoughts to put pen to paper againſt it. I know this liberty and Toleration was maintained by the *Donatiſts* of old, and by the *Socinians*, *Arminians*, and *Anabaptiſts* of late: but it hath beene conſtantly oppoſed by all that were ſound and orthodoxe, both Ancient and Moderne, who have aſſerted the lawfull uſe of a coercive power againſt thoſe things, whereby (though under pretence of conſcience) God is openly diſhonoured, ſoules enſnared and deſtroyed, faith or piety ſubverted and overthrowne: and further, the compelling of the outward man, though not to the practiſe of things indifferent (which compulſion I doe not allow) yet to the practiſe of neceſſary duties, and to the externall uſe of meanes and ordinances, by which through the bleſſing of God, mens hearts and conſciences may be ſavingly affected and wrought upon. And I beſeech you what elſe meaneth *Aſa's* Covenant, *That whoſoever would not ſeeke the Lord God of Iſrael ſhould be put to death whether ſmall or great, whether man or woman.* And what elſe meaneth *Ioſiahs* Covenant, whereof it is ſaid, *he cauſed all that were preſent in Jeruſalem and Benjamin, to ſtand to it.* And what elſe is that in *Ezra*, that whoſoever would not come to *Jeruſalem* to make a Covenant, and to put away the ſtrange wives, all his ſubſtance ſhould be forfeited, and *himſelfe ſeparated from the Congregation*

2 Chro. 15. 13.

2 Chro 34 32.

Ezra 10. 8.

on of thoſe that had beene carried away, that is, Excommunicated. And what elſe is that other act of *Joſiah* in putting downe the Prieſts of the high Places. And what ſay you to the Law of ſtoning thoſe who did intice the people to turne out of the way wherein the Lord commanded them to walke, ſaying, *Let us goe after other Gods and ſerve them.* 2 Kings 23.5. Deut. 13.5.6.

Civilian.

I would rather heare ſome Arguments from the New Teſtament, for I doubt theſe from the Old Teſtament ſhall be more ſubject to exception.

Divine.

To me it is plaine, that theſe things doe as much concerne us now, as the Jewes of old, which whoſoever denieth, muſt ſhew, that either we may take no rules nor patternes from the Old Teſtament: or that the foreſaid Lawes and practiſes were not intended by the holy Ghoſt to binde us, (as other things in the Old Teſtament doe) but were ceremoniall and typicall, intended to bind the Jewes onely. Mr. *Williams* in his *bloody Tenant* (though I doe not remember that any where he anſwereth to thoſe particular paſſages which I have cited, yet) perceiving that ſuch arguments from the Old Teſtament can not be taken off without this anſwer, that all theſe were typicall and figurative: he therefore goeth much upon that ground, and ſo deviſeth more types and figures in the Old Teſtament then ever any body did before him, and pleaſeth himſelfe with ſuch fancies and conjectures therein, as I dare ſay, will ſatisfie no indifferent Reader: and in effect making void by his principles all arguments from the Old Teſtament, ſo that we may not from the examples of the godly Kings of *Judah*, teach Chriſtian Magiſtrates what their du-

ty is, nor argue thus, God commanded that the Kings of *Judah* ſhould have a copy of the Book of the Law by them, and read therein, that they ſhould not multiply wives, &c. Therefore Chriſtian Princes ſhould ſearch the Scriptures, ſhould not multiply wives, &c. or thus. The Prieſts and Levites had a ſufficient maintenance. Therefore ſo ſhould the Miniſters of the Goſpell: or thus; The Jewes were commanded to reſt from all ſervile labour on the Sabbath day. Therefore ſo ſhould Chriſtians on the Lords day: or thus; Warres were lawfull in the old Teſtament; Therefore they are lawfull ſtill. Or the like. All theſe ſhall be caſt aſide, upon this ground, they were tipicall, therefore no patterns to us.

Deut. 17. 17, 18, 19.

But becauſe you deſire an Argument from the New Teſtament: I will convince your judgement from thence alſo: Sure I am, I have better grounds in the New Teſtament, againſt the Toleration now in queſtion, then Maſter *Iohn Goodwin* hath found for it, in his Text, *Act.* 5. 38. 39. He holdeth that we may build upon *Gamaliels* ſpeech, as Authoriſed by God, *there being nothing in all this ſpeech (excepting only the Hiſtoricall Inſtances, the truth of which, it ſeems was generally known, and is atteſted by Joſephus their great Hiſtorian) but what is fully conſonant with the Word of God*, ſaith he. And ſo he approveth the Sceptik Principles of that Nullifidian, who razeth the very foundation of the Chriſtian Faith, and maketh it a very doubtfull caſe whether the Apoſtles Doctrine was from God, or from men. But I proceed to my Arguments. Firſt, you ſhall doe well to remember what I ſaid concerning Church cenſures, from *Matth.* 18. under which ſcandalous and obſtinate delinquents, doe fall, the pretence of Conſcience, being no ex-

exception for them. The Miniſters of the Goſpel *have in readineſſe to revenge all diſobedience*, 2 Cor. 10.6. The Angel of the Church of *Epheſus* is commended, becauſe of his zeal, in that he could not beare thoſe who called themſelves Apoſtles and were not. *Revel.* 2. 2. Contrariwiſe, the Angel of the Church of *Pergamus* is blamed, for this reaſon, *becauſe thou haſt there them that teach the doctrine of Balaam, &c. ſo haſt thou alſo them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans. Revel.* 2 14.15. that is, becauſe thou haſt tolerated them, and haſt not caſt them out. It is thy fault, that they are there in the Church. The like challenge is ſent to the Angel of the Church of *Thyatira*, verſ. 20. *I have a few things againſt thee, becauſe thou ſuffereſt that woman Jezebell, who calleth her ſelf a Propheteſſe, to teach, and to ſeduce my ſervants, &c.* That chapter is ſo cleare for the point, that Maſter *Williams* acknowledgeth it proves fully, that Chriſt hath endued the Miniſters and Governours of his Church, with power to ſuppreſſe Hereſy and errour, and the ſpreaders thereof, be who they will be. See *the bloody Tenent. c.* 57. So *John the Baptiſt. pag.* 63. confeſſeth that the Church of *Thyatyra* was juſtly taxed, not only for not controuling and reproving *Jezebel*, but alſo, *in that they permitted her to ſeduce weak Chriſtians, without cutting her off by the ſword of the Spirit, the power of excommunication.*

Civilian.

I was about to anſwer the ſame, that if thoſe places prove any thing, it is onely the ſuppreſſing of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks by Church cenſures, not at all by the civill coercive power of the Magiſtrate.

Divine.

I thought with my ſelfe, I ſhould neede ſay no more,

having proved that Heriticks and Shiſmaticks, though miſcarrying with ſo much opinion of conſcience, as to thinke themſelves Apoſtles or Prophets, may be cenſured and caſt out of the Church (which is the caſe, *Revel.*2.) I did never imagine but where the ſoule is puniſhed with the greateſt puniſhment which can be inflicted on earth, that is, Excomunication ; much more may the body be puniſhed by the Magiſtrate, as the degree of the offence ſhall require: eſpecially conſidering that the Magiſtrat is a nurſing father to the Church, and is to protect and aſſiſt her, not to ſuffer her authority and cenſures to be deſpiſed and ſet at nought. But to ſatisfie you yet more touching the Magiſtrats part, conſider well that paſſage *Rom.* 13.4. *For he is the Miniſter of God to thee for good : but if thou doe that which is evill be afraid, for he beareth not the ſword in vaine : for he is the Miniſter of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evill.*

I ſay 49.23.

Civilian.

This place and all that you can ſay in that kind doth not warrant nor iuſtifie perſecution, for the cauſe of conſcience, but onely the puniſhment of all ſuch evill doers as doe diſturbe the peace of the Kingdome, or the courſe of civill juſtice, oppoſe Magiſtrats or lawes, traitors, rebells, murtherers, felons, and the like. *John the Baptiſt pag.* 57. ſaith, *If a breach of peace, the civill powers ought to redreſſe it.* 1. *Tim.* 2.1. 2. *But for the Magiſtrate to interpoſe in matters meerly Eccleſiaſticall, otherwiſe then ſpiritually, and as a Miniſter of the Goſpell, I find no warrant for it, in all the Goſpel.*

Divine

Now you are come to your laſt refuge wherein I know you put great confidence: but I am as confident

it

it cannot ſerve your turne, which I prove thus. 1. By this Tenent you give a more dangerous wound to the power of the civill Magiſtrate then you are aware of, for in ſtead of making him keeper of both Tables, you make him keeper of the ſecond Table onely, at leaſt *vindex* of it onely, whereas God hath made him as well *vindex* as *Cuſtos utriuſque Tabulæ*. 2. In the place I laſt cited, the Apoſtle maketh no exception nor reſtriction, but will have all evill doers (to which category I ſuppoſe Heretickes and Seducers doe belong) to be afraid of vengeance by the hand of the Magiſtrate. 3. The Apoſtle there doth once and againe call the Magiſtrate, *The Miniſter of God*, as it were purpoſely putting him in mind, that he judgeth not for man but for the Lord, and that he is to looke moſt to things pertaining to God. 4. There may be a coincidencie of thoſe things which you put aſunder: for example, ſuppoſe a Jeſuite killing a Magiſtrate · or ſome other Hereticke killing one who hath beene moſt oppoſite to him; or as ſometime the caſe was) ſuppoſe men cauſing their children to goe through the fire as a ſacrifice to their God *Molech*, all theſe (though murthers) yet are done for Conſcience ſake, men being perſwaded in their conſcience, that they are doing good ſervice to God, as it is ſaid of thoſe that killed the Apoſtles. What ſay you to that caſe? ſhall the puniſhment of thoſe be perſecution for the cauſe of Conſcience. 5. I cannot marvell enough, that it ſhould be heard from the mouth of any Chriſtian, that the Magiſtrate is to puniſh injuries done to the State, but not injuries done to the Church; that he is to puniſh thoſe who deſtroy mens bodies, but not thoſe that deſtroy mens ſoules: that whoſoever will draw away people from the obedience of the Magiſtrate, and of the law of the Land, muſt not

2 Chro. 19. 6.

Jo. 16. 2.

be

be ſuffered: but they who will draw away people from the truth of the Goſpel, and from the wayes of God, ſuch as *Hymeneus* and *Philetus*, who *overthrow the faith of ſome, and their word will eat, as doth a canker*, muſt eſcape unpuniſhed. And ſo Chriſtian Magiſtrates and States, ſhall take up the maxime which *Tacitus* tells was holden by *Tyberius Cæſar, Deorum injurias Diis curæ eſſe*: but for their part, they ſhall ſtand by as *Gallio* did, and *care for none of thoſe things*. Be aſtoniſhed at this, O ye heavens.

2 Tim. 2. 17, 18

Act. 18. 17.

Civilian.

But in the meane time I can tell you one thing, that it is a mighty prejudice that lies in the mindes of many againſt the Prysbetery, that tyranny and rigour doe accompany it. And this now bringeth into my minde ſome other prejudices. I have ſeene a Booke come from *Oxford*, entituled, *An Anſwer by Letter to a worthy Gentleman, who deſired of a Divine ſome reaſons, by which it might appeare how inconſiſtent Fresbyteriall Government is with Monarchy*. In which I finde many things which breed an *Odium* of that Government. Among other things it tells me, that this is one of the Articles of the Presbyterian faith. *No Miniſter preaching in Publike, ſedition or Treaſon, or railing at King, Councell, the Prince, Judges, is accountable, or puniſhable by King, Parliament, Councell, or any Indicature whatſoever. But from all hee may appeale to the Sanhedrum or Conſiſtory, as the ſole and proper competent Judge.* And as if this were a ſmall thing not to ſubject to the Magiſteate, they will have the Magiſtrate ſubject to them, inſomuch that they may excommunicate the Magiſtrate, even the King himſelfe if he obey them not: That the Presbytery hindereth the liberty of trade and commerce, diſgraceth and defameth young women for converſing familiarly with men,

Pag. 76.

Pag. 26.

Pag. 13, 14. 15.

men, ſuffereth not Land-Lords to ſue for their rents, and the like. That they bring all caſes and cauſes under their cognition and judgement, *ſub formalitate ſcandali*, under the notion of ſcandall, and for the glory of God. It tells alſo a number of Stories and practicall examples for confirmation of thoſe particulars. What ſay you to that?

Divine.

I have ſeen and read the book, which ſurely was written by the ſpeciall inſpiration of the father of lies, that the ſimple people who never yet ſawe a Presbytery, may be made afraid of it, as of ſome helliſh monſter, as the French Friars made the people beleeve, that the *Hugonots* were ugly monſters with Swines faces, and Aſſes eares. But men of underſtanding will not be taken with ſuch bold and ſhameleſſe calumnies as come from the pen of that ſon of Belial. I could name both the Author, and the lying Records of a perſecuting Prelate, whence he borrowed his ſtories, in which there are many known untruths; and where there is any truth in the matters of fact which he relates, there is ſuch addition of his own Interpretations of mens actions, ſuch variation of circumſtances, and ſuch concealing of the true grounds, ends, and circumſtances of ſuch actions, as maketh them to appear quite another thing then they were. And if his ſtories of the ſpeeches, actions, or opinions of particular men were all true (as they are not) yet how doth that prove that Presbyteriall government is inconſiſtent with Monarchy, Magiſtracie, Laws, Trading, Peace, &c. This muſt be proved from the principles or neceſſarie concomitants of Presbyteriall government, not from the actions or ſpeeches of this or that private man, eſpecially they having ſo ſaid or done not in any reference to Preſ-

byteriall Government, but occasionally in reference to such or such persons or purposes. As now if I should rake up the dunghill of all the Treasons, Conspiracies, Oppressions, Persecutions, Adulteries, Blasphemies, Heresies, Atheisticall opinions, Superstitions, Prophanities of such or such Prelates, (of which the Histories of former times and late experience are full) and thence conclude that Episcopall government is inconsistent with Monarchy, with the safety of the Kingdome, with the liberty of the Subject, with the peace of the Church, with piety, &c. Surely that same Author would be ready to answer me, that this must be proved from their received principles, not from particular practises. Now that Ministers preaching Treason, or committing any other trespasse punishable by the law of the land, is not to be judged by the Civill Magistrate, nor any Civill Court, but may appeale from all these to the Ecclesiasticall Judicatory, is none of our principles: but it is a Popish and Prelaticall usurpation, as appeareth by the Brittish Ecclesiasticall constitutions, collected by *Spelman*. So that the *Oxfordian* missed his mark extreamly when he charged it upon Presbyterians, who hold that Ministers are as much subject unto, and as punishable by the Magistrate, as any other of the Subjects. And as Ministers are subject to every ordinance of man, so we suppose the Christian Magistrate will not take it ill to be subject to all the ordinances of Jesus Christ, I shall give you a short but

Concil. Britan. tom. 1. pag. 413 Nullus autem Rex habet potestatem constituendi pretium super aliquem Ecclesiasticum sacris ordinibus obligatum, vel super membra, vel sanguinem, vel Sacred ejus, vel super aliquem de suis, quia quisque Ecclesiasticus ut prædictus, habet potestatē per legem Ecclesiasticam prohibd in Synodo, quodlibet nocumentum vel damnum quod ei laicus faciat, aut Rex aut alius. Item nullatenus talis Ecclesiasticus potest compelli ad respondendum alicui extra Synodum, de delictis sibi appositis. Duarenus de sacr. eccl. ministris l. 1. c. 2. confesseth that *de causis civilibus Clericorum, non Sacerdotes olim, sed Præsides & Magistratus cognoscebant, &c. Verum Constitutiones Romanorum Pontificum, huic juri non parum derogaverunt quibus cautum est non solum ut clerici ad Magistratus tribunal invitis non trahantur, sed ut ne volentes quidem jurisdictioni Magistratus se subjicere possint, sive civilis sit, sive criminalis causa.*

clear.

clear account of our judgement concerning both theſe, in the words of the ſecond book of the Diſcipline of the Church of *Scotland*, *Chap.* 1. *As Miniſters are ſubject to the judgement and puniſhment of the Magiſtrate in externall things, if they offend: ſo ought the Magiſtrates to ſubmit themſelves to the Diſcipline of the Church, if they tranſgreſſe in matters of Conſcience and Religion.* And leſt you ſhould think this proper to the Claſſicall and Synodicall government: M. *Cotton* will tell you it is juſt ſo in the Congregationall government, *of the keyes of the Kingdome of heaven, pag.* 53. *As the Church* (ſaith he) *is ſubject to the ſword of the Magiſtrate in things which concerne the Civill Peace: ſo the Magiſtrate* (if Chriſtian) *is ſubject to the keyes of the Church, in matters which concerne the peace of his conſcience, and the Kingdom of heaven.* The latter cannot bee denied *in theſi*, no more then the former: and when it comes to the *Hypotheſis*, there is much to bee truſted to the prudence and diſcretion of Paſtors and ruling Elders; and when all comes to all, the failing is more like to be in the defect, then in the exceſſe. But to ſay, that a Magiſtrate, becauſe a Magiſtrate, is not bound in conſcience to ſubmit himſelfe to the ordinance of Diſcipline, though he ſhedde innocent blood, commit adultery, blaſpheame the name of God, *&c.* may inferre for ought I know, that a Magiſtrate is not bound to be ſubject to any of all the ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt. It is condemned as an error in *Plato*, that he held it lawfull for a Magiſtrate to make an officious lie, for the good of the Common-wealth, but not lawfull for a Subject. The error of our Civilians is greater, who will have Magiſtrates ſo to rule us, that Chriſt ſhall not rule them.

Civilian.

Civilian.

I ſuppoſe it is high time to adjourne, till we get ſuch another occaſion of amicable and free conference: at which time it is like enough our opinions may better accord. The points of which we have talked are both many and weighty, which therefore I will take to my ſecond thoughts. And ſo much for this time, Far-well.

Divine.

Conſider what I ſay, and the Lord give you underſtanding in all things.

FINIS.



Errata.

PAg. 12. l. 20. *country*, read *County*. p. 15. l. 13. *upon* r. *upon*. p. 20. l. 2. 3. *civill worſhip*, r. *civill fellowſhip*. Ibid. l. 15. *Coub*, r. *Cock*. Ibid. in Marg. *redbat*, r. *redibat*. p. 21. 10. *that*, r. adde that. p. 27. l. 13. care, r. law. Ibid. *ex*, r. *&*. p. 30. l. 17. *Witenbogurdus*, r. *Witenbogurdus*. Smaller errors and punctations, and the like, the Reader will pardon.

18

THE MAGISTRATES COMMISSION FROM HEAVEN.

Declared
In a SERMON preached in *Laurence jury*, *London*, the 28. day of *Sept.* 1644. at the Election of the Lord Major.

By *Anthony Burgeſſe*, ſometimes Fellow of *Immanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*; now Paſtour of *Sutton Coldfield* in *Warwick* ſhire, and a Member of the Aſſembly.

Imprimatur
THOMAS GATAKER.

Qq 106: 30

LONDON,
Printed by *George Miller* for *Thomas Underhill* at the Bible in Woodſtreet. 1644.

THE MAGISTRATES COMMISSION FROM HEAVEN.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE Sr *John Wollaston* Knight, Lord Major;

AND

To the Right Honourable *Thomas Atkin* Eſquire, Lord Major Elect of the Citie of *London*.

Right Honourable,

IT is a ſerious and graue reſolution of CALVIN, Tenendum eſt illud principium, &c. *That principle and maxime is firmely to be kept,* viz. *That Magiſtrates are appointed by God, to ſafeguard, and preſerve Religion and publike honeſty, even as the earth is ordained to bring forth fruit for nouriſhment, and therefore as when we pray for our daily bread, we alſo intreat God to make the earth fertile and fruitfull; ſo when we pray, that Chriſts Kingdome may come; we alſo beſeech God to raiſe up Magiſtrates, that may preſerve and propagate his truth; But as the earth is manytimes curſed, becauſe of the ſins of the inhabitants thereof, ſo God for the iniquities of a Nation, raiſeth up Governours in his wrath, to be a ſcourge to them; All which ſheweth the great neceſſitie of that injunction, to pray for Kings, and thoſe in Authoritie, that we may live a quiet and godly life under them; and this is the intent of the future diſcourſe, which by your Command is now publiſhed,*

Calvin. in 1. Epiſt. in Tim. cap. 2.

lished, that otherwise had been buried in silence: I have not launcht into that great question, De jure Magistratus circa sacra, *though I have spoken a little* obiter *of it, The Magistracie and Ministry have their distinct bounds, and yet are mutually to help each other,* Quamdiu Respublicæ manent hospitia Ecclesiæ, tamdiu sint mansuræ; *as long as Common-wealths are Innes, like that in Bethlehem, to lodge Christ in, so long they will abide and flourish. I have adventured to joyne you both in the Dedication of this Sermon, partly, because you both did incourage to the publishing of it: and partly, because the Lord hath raised you both up in the place of Authority, The one being almost at his races end, and the other beginning his journey. The one having found the experience of Gods Protection in the managing of that Office, which is surrounded with so many discouragements, and the other needing all provocations not to faint in such a publike worke: The Lord so blesse your Honours in this publike Service, that the whole Citie, yea, whole Kingdome may praise God for your Fidelitie, Prudence, and Piety therein.*



Your Lordships, to serve you,

ANTHONY BURGESSE.

THE MAGISTRATES COMMISSION FROM HEAVEN.

ROMANES 13. 4.

For he is the Minister of God to thee for good.

WHat the Father *Gregory Nazianzen* said of *Moses*, that he was ὠκεανὸν θεολογίας, an Ocean of Divinitie, the same may be said of *Paul*: for doe but view this particular Epistle to the *Romanes*, you shall see in the former part of it, that he hath a *Medulla*, or a *Synopsis*, as I may so say, *purioris theologiæ*, he hath a Synopsis of the pure and exact Divinitie of Originall sinne, of Sanctification, of Justification, and of Election. In the twelfth Chapter you may see *Pauls* Ethicks and Morals, wherein the efficient cause of Actions is made, not with *Aristotle*, mans power, but the grace of God; and the end, not mans glory, but the glory of God. And in the fourteenth Chapter,

there you have *Paul* a Casuist, determining cases with a great deale of circumspection and caution. And then in this Chapter here you have *Pauls* politicks: The beginning of this Chapter is the Magistrates *Magna Charta*, or his Commission sealed from Heaven, whereby he may be incouraged to goe through his office, notwithstanding all men that dispute about lawfulnesse of Magistracie: and notwithstanding all the discouragements that he shall meet with in the practice of it; there being nothing more necessary to a Magistrate then to be informed of this, that his Calling is of God, and that God hath a peculiar providence over such. It is related of *Frederick* Duke of Saxonie, when he was almost discouraged by the popish doctrine about Magistracie, and the office of a governour; at last, when *Luther* writ a booke *De magistratu*, and the Duke had read it, he lifts up his hands to Heaven, thanking God that at last he was convinced, the state of Magistracie he lived in, to be pleasing to God, and that he might in it doe him a great deale of service. Now the Apostle, he deales very exactly, and methodically about a Magistrate.

First, he laies downe a generall Proposition at the 1. verse: *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*: or unto the high powers: for it is ὑπερέχουσαις in the Greek: and this translating of it, Higher powers is *periculose* saies *Beza*: as if none but higher powers were to have obedience. Let *every soule* be subject: this brings in Papists, Monks, the whole Clergie of Poperie: It brings in all spirituall men (as they call them) whatsoever: And as for that same evasion, Let every soule, *Omnis anima, id est animalis homo*, as they cite it out of *Origen*, it is very ridiculous. And as vain is that of others, who say, he speakes here of Ecclesiasticall power, for he gives a sword and tribute to this power, which cannot be understood of Ecclesiasticall power: So you have then the Proposition laid downe: and this he backs with many Arguments: First from the efficient Cause: *The powers that be are of God*: how this is to be understood, I shall show you anon in the Text, only thus: when he sayes, there is no power but of God, it is not to be understood *permissivè*, or *ordinativè*, or *directivè*, for so sin, and evill, and wickednesse, or the devill; these are of God by way of permission, and by way of ordering and directing: But the Apostle meanes more: He is of God *approbativè & mandativè*, by way of approbation and by way of command, as I shall show you anon. And the Apostle laieth

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it downe both affirmatively and negatively, That there is no power but of God: This is more then affirmatively: for some might think, though the kingdome and power of Israel was of God, yet notwithstanding, is the power of the Romane Emperours of God? and then amongst Romane Emperours, the Christians might have thought, though *Titus* and *Vespatian*, these that were called, *delicie generis humani*, the darlings of mankind, yet was *Domitian* and *Tiberius Nero* of God? He answereth, There is no power but of God, that is the first Argument.

The second Argument is brought from the contrary: *Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.* This place you know is frequently brought by Court Divines against the Parliaments defensive warre: but no such inference can be made; for the Apostle speakes generally: we may as well prove, that they that refuse the Parliaments warre, resist the Ordinance of God; for the Apostle speakes largely, *All power is of God*; And Parliamentary power being power is rightly of God: therefore he that resists that power, resists the Ordinance of God: So that that makes nothing but the cleane contrary may be as well proved from thence. As for the maine question it selfe that is so frequently agitated, I need not insist on it, wherefore I proceed.

The third Argument that he brings, it is from the end of these, they are not a terrour to good works, but to evill, *facile est imperium in bonos*, the Government on those that are good, it is easie. And so he comes to this reason in my Text: *For he is the Minister of God to thee for good.* In which words observe,

First, the Magistrate described by his Office or Nature, he is a Minister. Secondly, by the Efficient Cause, he is of God. And thirdly, by the end, To thee for good.

1. He is a Minister, a Minister in what sense you heard: Not a minister as *Nebuchadnezzar* was said to be a minister: or as *Attila* was called *flagellum Dei*, a scourge of God, by way of Gods providence, working such and such things, no, but he is a Minister by way of command, and by way of approbation. The Greek word is *diaconos*, those words that are applyed now, and appropriated to Ecclesiasticall Governours, they were at first used of Civill; as, *Episcopos*, the same is used by the Septuagint, for one that hath an oversight, or inspection in Civill matters: And so *Tully* useth the word *Episcopos*, for one that had an over-sight over some State commo-

dities. And thus *diaconos* here in the Text, though it is used now Ecclesiastically, yet at first it was taken largely, for any one that did serve: and so λειτουργὸς the word afterward here used; it is not as the Papists would have it, only to be appropriated to sacrificing, but is extended largely unto all kind of Service: he is a Minister, his power therefore is bounded.

And secondly, He is said to be of God, that is the Efficient Cause: (I shall speake more of that anon.)

And thirdly, You have the End: First there is the *finis cui*, the End for whom, and that is for Thee; for Thee a Christian, though he be a Heathen Emperour. And then the *finis cujus gratia*, for what it is, and that is for thy good: *For he is the minister of God to thee for thy good.* Thus you have the words explained. Now the Doctrine that I will raise from the points shall be this:

That Magistracie or Government is appointed of God, for the good of mankind.

In the handling of this: First I shall show you, how it is of God, with the Attributes that the Scripture gives to the persons in it. Secondly, the End of it. Thirdly, the Extent of this power. And fourthly, the Qualifications of the person. And the Reasons of it: And so make Application, not intending to be tedious.

Magistracie or Government it is appointed and ordained of God for the good of mankind.

First, the Apostle here speakes not of persons, but he speakes of the office, and of the Government it selfe: And then withall, he speakes not of the abuse of the power, and of the Office, but he speakes of the use of it, the right use of it: Now, I say, Magistracie it is an Ordinance of God not only under the old Testament (as *Anabaptists* would have it) but also under the New Testament. And that it is so, it will appeare by places of Scripture that I shall bring: only, this you are to take notice of: That Magistracy may be said to be of God; partly, because God is the God of order, and so positively he commands it. And then partly, because he hath ingrafted it in the Law of Nature, that there should be a Government, and that there should be power: Those two wayes it is of God. But now in Magistracie or government there are these foure things considerable:

First, there is the Nature, and the formes or kinds of it: As Government, whether Monarchicall, Aristocraticall, or Democraticall: now

now all these are of God, one as well as the other.

And then in the second place, You have the Designation, or the Application of Government unto this or that man: and this is of man.

And then thirdly, You have the Extent of this power, how farre their power shall reach: and this, also is of man.

And then lastly, There is the use of this power: and this, also, is of man; though to use it well, be of God. So then you may see in what sense it is said, That Magistracy, or Governement is of God. And that it is so appeares by these Arguments.

First, Because the Apostle, not only here to the *Romans*, but likewise in the Epistle to *Timothy*, and in the *Ephesians*, doth diligently presse this duty of submitting unto Government: now if it were a thing absolutely unlawfull, if it were a thing that were absolutely a sin, why then would the Apostle presse those duties?

And secondly, You have Examples in the Scripture of those that did make use of the Magistrate: As *Paul* when he was in danger of his life, he makes use of the Magistrate for the saving of himselfe, which, how could he doe if it were a sin? Thirdly, The second *Psalme*: and in the Prophet *Isaiah*, you have prophecies, and Psalmes by way of Exhortation and Instruction unto Magistrates, that they should receive Christ, and his Kingdome, and order, and worship, and government: now all these things could not be, if the thing were unlawfull.

Yea, it is so of God, and so naturall, that Divines doe thinke that Magistracy and government would have been in the state of Innocency: for certainely there would have been paternall authority, and filiall subjection: and why (when the World should have increased by time) should there not have been subjection unto Magistrates? not indeed by way of feare, or by way of paine, as it is now; no more then a child would have been obedient to his parents, on such termes, but in a happy, and in a blessed way, and for order sake. Thus you see, it is of God, and in what sence.

In the next place, Consider the titles that the Scripture gives unto Magistrates, which mightily sets forth their duty, and their office. As in *Joh.* 10. 35. they are called Gods: it is a place that is quoted out of the Psalme: If he called them Gods to whom the word of God came: *Hensius*, would have it, Against whom the word of God came: and certainly, if you consult with the Psalme, That

seemeth to be reprehensory and objurgatory; to those that were Governours; and our Saviours argument is stronger: If he calls them, against whom the word of God came; came condemning of them, and chiding of them, and reprooving of them; if he calls them Gods, then is it any great matter that I am called God? But take it as we render it: yet you see it is, they are Gods: and the word of God came to them: that is, the word of God came to them, and appointed them; as well as it came to Ministers and appointed them, thus they are Gods.

Furthermore, they are called Shepheards, often by the Prophet: and these sheep what have they done? and to feed the flock: this denotes what a great deale of care, ought to be in them about the Common-wealth.

They are called Fathers: *patres patriæ*: I rose up a Mother in *Israel*: to shew that there is no Governour or Magistrate, but ought to love the Common-wealth more then his own child and the offspring that commeth from him.

They are also called *εὐεργέται*, men that doe good, *εὐεργέτης* by some is properly applyed to God, yet given to the Magistrate. So that these set forth the sweet affections, that ought to be in those that are Magistrates and Governours. *Caligula*, was a Monster rather then a Magistrate; he complained there was no publike calamities, not publike judgement to destroy his people. And so *Nero*, when he heard that spoken out of the Tragedian, *ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί*, when I die, let all the world be set on fire: he added, *ἐμοῦ ζῶντος*, yea, while I am alive. These were Monsters of men, rather then Magistrates, according to these titles and offices that are prescribed.

The Scripture also gives them Metaphoricall Titles: as sometimes: in *Gen.*45. they are called *Adonim*, the basis, foundation, the pillars: sometimes the shields, the corner-stones, the repairers, the Physitians: in *Isa.*3. I am no healer, (saith he) that is, I am no Magistrate: this showes forth the great power, and great excellency of Government. And therefore in *Dan.*4. Governours are compared to great trees, under the shadow of which there is a great deale of safety, ease and protection; And the reason (say some) why that *Samuel* in the sacrifice, gave *Saul* the shoulder, was to denote, how that *Saul* should beare upon his shoulders, the people, and be able with a great deale of strength, to governe and

to

to rule them. Thus you see the second thing. That as they are instituted and ordained of God, so they have likewise glorious Titles and Names put on them whereby they may be made sweet to mankind.

In the nexe place, You are to consider the end, for which they are: and that is laid downe here in the text; For thy good, for the Common-wealth. And this is mainly to be considered, that the Common-wealth is not for Governours, but Governours are for the Common-wealth: they are the great servants of the Common-wealth: like the sun that hath not light for it self but for the world: and therefore the Hebrew word for the same שמש comes from a roote that signifies to be a servant: the Sunne it is the great servant of the world, it hath a light for the world and not for it selfe: and so likewise Governours they have wisedome, not for themselves but for the Common-wealth: they have parts, they have power, they have strength; all these things not for themselves but for the Commonwealth: That was a good Embleme of a Governour, that had a Torch burning with this Motto: *Alijs inserviens meipsum consumo*, While I serve others I spend my selfe; the propriety is in the Common-wealth, the administration, that is in Governours, so that this is mainly to be considered by Governours. And, oh! that this were planted in all their hearts, we are not here in this place to set up our selves, we are not for our own honours, for our own wealth, for our own riches, but we are for the Common-wealth. *Ideo hæc feci* (saies he) *ut conscientiæ & reipublicæ mihi gratias agerent*, therefore have I done these things, that the Common-wealth might thank me, and my own conscience. Among the Grecians there was an action called εὐθυνα against those Officers that did not administer for the publike good: so by this you may see, that Officers, Magistrates, Governours, they are not to say, this is the glory I will have in such a place, and this is the pompe that I will have; but only, they are to consider the end, and that the people may know of them and say of them, that they are, *tam pro se, quam super se*, that they are as well for them, as above them, and if this were laid in the hearts of men, how would they be willing with *Saul*, to hide themselves among the stuffe, rather then to be taken into publike places; considering that as long, as they are there, they are not their own, but for the Common-wealth: this is the end of Government.

Now

Now in the next place, I come to shew you the extent of their power.

First it extendeth, unto the reforming, and to the redressing, of all the corruptions that creep into the Church of God, and into the Worship of God: this the Magistrates power reaches unto, in *Deut.*23. And so we reade of *Iosias*, *Moses*, *Hezekiah*, all these worthy Governours, their power did reach to the redressing of the abuses that were in the Church of God, when Idolatry and superstition came in: so that it is made their sin, that the high places were left: Why the Magistrates had power then; and should not have power now, there can no solid reason be given. Indeed the manner of the punishment, belonging to Gods Judiciall Law, that may be altered, but their duty to preserve the Worship of God, which floweth from the Morall Law, cannot cease: And certainely, such Governours that do arise to do so, they are as welcome as those men were that we reade of, that came and rowled away the stones from the springs, and tooke away the earth which the *Philistines* had throwen in, that so the cattell might drinke: I say, no lesse welcome are those Magistrates and those Governours to be that rise up, and take away the stones that have been rouled on our springs we drinke of, and throw away the earth that was cast into them by the *Philistines*. Yea Magistrates are to doe this in the first place, before all other considerations whatsoever: So *Moses* he began with the Administration of the Paschall Lambe, when he carried them out of *Egypt*: And *Gideon* began with the erecting of an Altar to God, before he purged the Common-wealth: And so *Iosias* did, and others, they began in the first place with that.

Againe, in the second place, their power extendeth yet farther, and that is to restraine Heresies and Errours, or any thing that may spread it selfe to the destruction of the Church, they are to restraine them also. I know that this is a Question of a great and large dispute, and I have not time to venture into such an ocean as this is; only a little I will say of it: *Austin*, he was indeed of judgement once, that the Magistrate ought not forcibly to represse Errors and Heresies; but afterward, when by experience he did see, that the Gangreen did increase, and that it would spoile the whole body; and when he had experience that men who were by feare brought into their duties, at first, yet afterwards they began to know and love the truth, he altered and changed his mind: yet notwithstanding

many

many things are warily to be said here: I will but briefly touch them, and so goe on to other matters.

As in the first place, the most proper, and sutable, and genuine way to cure an Error is, to bring Arguments out of the Scripture. *Fides est donum Dei non Cæsaris*, sayes he well; Faith it is not *Cæsars* gift, but it is Gods gift: and so, *Fides est suadendo non imperando*, many such things are out of *Lactantius* to that purpose; For certainely if humane perswasion cannot bring a man to beleeve: *Veritas* (as *Tertullian* sayes well) *docendo persuadet, non suadendo docet*, Truth perswades a man by teaching, it teaches not a man by perswading: it is much more true then of Threatning, and of outward violence.

But then afterwards, if men still remaine refractory, then the Magistrate hath a power to compell to the externall meanes of faith, though the Magistrate cannot *ad fidem cogere*, compell to beleeve; and no man doth *credere invitus*, beleeve against his will, all this is true, yet notwithstanding he may compell to the externall meanes of faith and of salvation, as you see all the Magistrates in the Old Testament did: and Parents may doe it, and ought to doe it: and then why should it be denied unto a Magistrate?

Againe in the next place, there is a wary distinction to be made between Errors, some that overthrow fundamentals, whether directly, or indirectly, immediately or mediately, and here a great deale more severity is to be used: As, Popery, that overthrowes fundamentals, directly or indirectly. *Arrians* and *Socinians*, that immediately oppose the deity of Jesus Christ, and such things. Also such, that deny Magistracy, and so overthrow politick societies: So likewise *Antinomians*, or *Autonomians*, men that would overthrow the Law of God, or be a law to themselves meerely without any bounds: These opinions are plainly prejudiciall to piety, or to civill societies, therefore the Magistrate is to see, that such fire doe not kindle, and by degrees burne, till all be consumed into ashes; but yet still he is patiently to try all faire wayes of convincing before he proceedeth otherwise.

But then there are others that are of an inferiour nature, and there *Austins* rule is good, *Saviant illi, qui nesciunt quantis gemitibus datur vel tantillum de Deo intelligere*, let them be fierce, and cruell, who know not with what sighes it is given, even to understand but a little of the truth of God: In *Rom.*14. there you

may see a tenderneſſe, ought to be allowed to thoſe that are weake: and as the Phyſitian ſaith, *dies & quies quandoque ſanant hominem*, ſo it is true likewiſe of Errours that are of a leſſe ſize, many times, eaſe and time they will heale the man: howſoever, the Magiſtrate is here to be wary, for, *nihil eſt periculoſius immaturâ medicinâ*, nothing is more dangerous then an unripe, or an unſeaſonable medicine: But this requireth a large Tractate.

In the third place: Their power extendeth to all the outward morall duties of the ſecond Table: and here properly the power of the Magiſtracy is to be ſeene: to ſet themſelves againſt all wickedneſſe, to be zealous againſt vice, to ſee that the Law of God in all the Commandements of it be kept, *remota juſtitia quid ſunt regna, niſi magna latrocinia*, ſaid *Auſtin*, let Juſtice be taken out of the way, and then what are Kingdomes, but great piracies, and robberies? and therefore he ought to be zealous againſt vice, and to ſet againſt all impiety; if thou doeſt evill be afraid: Beloved! how happy is it, when the drunkard is afraid, and the ſwearer afraid, and when the ungodly man is afraid of a Magiſtrate: this is the end for which God hath given him his power: if thou doſt ill (ſayes he) be afraid: ſo then, his power, extendeth to the keeping up all the duties of the Law of God.

Now in the next place, I muſt give you a limitation of this, that though the power of the Magiſtrate extendeth to all theſe things, yet for all that, there is a bounding of his power: therefore it is diſtinct from the Miniſters power; it is diſtinct, I ſay, from Eccleſiaſticall power; Whoſe ſins ye remit, are remitted, theſe things are not ſaid to a Governour, nor to a Magiſtrate; And ſo to preach the word of God by way of office: And to adminiſter the Sacrament, They are a diſtinct power, they are not to be confounded, though they mutually helpe one another: if we have a Miniſtery, but not a Magiſtracy, we may live (*piè*) godly, but not (*commodè*) quietly, and if we have a Magiſtracy and not a Miniſtery, we may live (*commodè*) quietly, but not (*piè*) godly, they mutually helpe one another. And yet for all that they are diſtinct, they are not to invade one another, but they are to remaine different in their bounds: Beſides, they are bounded in regard of their power: becauſe they may not doe any thing againſt God, he is but the Miniſter of God, and therefore is to take heed, what God will have done in his way and worſhip; leaſt of a Miniſter of God, he be made an adverſary

adversary to God: Hence people are not to obey a Magistrate, nor a Governour when he commands against the word of God. *Colamus Imperatorem* (said *Tertullian*) *quemadmodum Deo libet, & ipsi expedit*, we honour the Emperour as it's commanded by God, and as it is expedient for him. This was their resolution in the *Acts*, whether it be fitter to obey God, or man, judge ye, *da veniam O Imperator, in carcerem, ille gehennam minatur*, pardon, O Emperour! thou threatnest prisons, but God threatens Hell; So that we are not to obey him against the word of God: He is but a Minister, and being but a Minister, he is bounded still, that he may not prescribe any thing in the worship of God, not in the Law of God, that God hath not laid downe. We reade in Levitical ordinances, that always the head of a Sacrifice was to be throwne away: though this beast were to be offered and that, yet still the head was to be throwne away: to teach (say some Expositors) that a mans head in the worship of God, it is to be laid aside: he is not to goe according to his own inventions, but he is to keepe meerely to the command of God. And thus have I done with the first part of the Doctrine.

In the next place, I come to show you the Qualifications of the person that is to governe: and so shall make Application. I intend to be short because of your great and waighty businesse. And therefore in the,

First place, the first Qualification that is requisite in him that is to governe, and who is thus a Minister of God for the good of the people, is, That he ought to be knowing of the will of God, out of the word of God, and that he ought to have the feare of God setled in his heart: that, that is necessary, you may see how the King was commanded, in *Deuteronomy*, to write out the Law of God himselfe, with his own hand, notwithstanding all his publique imployments, that so he might be understanding of the word of God, and acquainted with it: nay, and not only to know it, but if he doe erre, that he be willing to be reprooved and informed: *dilexi virum qui magis arguentem quam laudantem probaret*, I love the man (said *Ambrose* of *Theodosius*) that does delight more in one that would reproove him, then one that would flatter him, *vetus illud*, either nothing, or that which is sweet, is the rule given among the Heathens: either we must speake sweet things unto Governours, or else we must speake nothing at all: but now (saies *David*) 1.

Let the righteous smite me; though it be a smiting, yet notwithstanding for all that, he shall count it better then oyle: so that he ought to be understanding of the word of God, that is, willing to be informed, and reprooved, if he goe out of the way.

And then this knowledge is to have all the affections joyned with it; feare, and love, *&c.* to say as he said, *Pereat magis totum regnum, quam ut semel contra Deum peccem,* Oh! let all this earthly Kingdome of mine perish: yea, *totus orbis,* (as he addes) let the whole world, rather then that I should once sinne knowingly against God: this ought to be the resolution in every Governour and officer; Let the whole Kingdome perish, let all my estate, let all my glory, let all my pompe perish, rather then I should once offend against God: And as he is to have the feare of God in his heart, and the knowledge of God out of his word: so his delight is to be unto those that are godly, and to those that are holy: as *David* makes it his resolution, My delight (sayes he) shall be on the faithfull of the Land. So then, this is the first thing necessary unto a Governour, one that understands the word of God, one that hath knowledge, soundnesse of judgement out of the same.

2. In the second place, another thing requisite is; That he be of a publique spirit: for beloved, to be in a publike place, and to have a private heart, and to have private ends, how incongruous is that? Woe be to thee, O Common-wealth, where thy Governours have as many eyes as *Argus*, to find out profit, and matters of gaine: and as many hands as *Briarius*, to receive and take the same: We told you they are for the Common-wealth, and the Common-wealth is not for them; and so they ought to labour for a publike heart and a publike spirit: My parts they are the Common-wealths, my power it is the Common-wealths, my time it is the Common-wealths? He ought to abhorre all inriching of himselfe, on the losse of the publique: oh! what a woefull thing will it be at the day of judgement, to have a man crying as *Judas* said, here, take this silver, and take the gold againe, or take this estate againe that I have got by robbing of the Common-wealth: And how necessary is this to our Governours, to our Magistrates, to our Commanders, to our Souldiers; all that have to doe in the publike, that they would consider, that they are for the publique, and the publike is not for them: *Austin* considers much that out of *Tully, res publica,* is, *res populi;* the Common-wealth it is the peoples good, it is, *res populi,* and therefore

therefore now, they are not to inrich themselves by it, nor to looke at their own ends in the publike.

In the third place: As they ought to be of a publique spirit; so, much in prayer unto God, that they may be conducted in this way: for certainely, when you are put into an office, into a government, you doe (as it were) set to sea in the midst of a storme, and of a tempest: and therefore how much need have you to pray to God, that the tempest and storme may be allayed: *Ulisses* would not goe to sea till he had gotten all the winds in his vessell, that so he need not care for a tempest: and so thou that art to enter on an office, or a government, doe not doe it till thou hast prevailed with God by prayer; and be much seeking of him, that he might give thee wisedome; You see *Solomon* did it, he begged of God, that God would give him wisedome to goe in and out before the people: and certainely, a great deale of reason there is, why they that are Governours should beg wisedome of God, if you consider but, how hard a thing it is, to judge of men that are of various dispositions, and various judgements, *nullum animal est majori arte tractandum*, (sayes he) there is no creature in the world that is to be handled with more art, then man is: And Father *Nazianzen*, he cries out, *ars artium est, & scientia scientiarum, &c.* it is an art of all arts, and a knowledge of all knowledges, to be able to governe a man: he is the most various, and the most uncertainest of all things in the world, and therefore he ought to be much in prayer to God. 3.

And then besides, the discouragements that are in the way, the murmurings and repinings of people; the losse of opportunities, and not laying hold of advantages: and then the miscarriages, that they cannot fall, but they fall like great trees, that beate downe the lesser: if thou beest a Governour, and thou art damned, thou damnest many with thee; therefore thou hast the greater cause to pray to God.

In the fourth place: Another is, Wisedome and Prudence, that is a maine, and a necessary thing too, in those that are to governe; and in those that have to doe in the Common-wealth: for (as I told you) it is like a man in a ship in the midst of a storme: how unhappy, and miserable is that ship that hath an unskilfull Pilot in the midst of a storme: and therefore 'tis said of *Moses*, that he did leade them with the skilfulnesse of his hands; there was a great deale of prudence and wisedome requisite in it, to be able to thinke 4.

thoughts of good for the publique, to be able to know which is the best way to doe good to the publique: these are mighty things. And therefore you see how *David* was afraid of an *Ahithophel*, he thought that a wise man would doe him more hurt, then all the men in the world: They must be men, that can lay hold of all occasions, that are able to overcome difficulties, and able to compose them; able to heale breaches: it is true indeed, it is many times the fate of wise men, and those that are most prudent, to be lesse accepted with the people; because they are circumspect, and cautelous, and wary in what they doe: whereas, *populus favet fortibus*, the people they favour those that are violent: and they had rather have *felicia ex casu*, then *bona ex consilio*, they had rather have happy things, by meere chance if it fall out by a bold venture: then to have good things slowly by a way of counsell and prudence: yet for all that wisedome is necessary: no man will bring a little light into a great roome: and a little wisedome ought not to be brought into the office, that requires all the parts, and all the powers of a man.

5. In the fifth place, Another Qualification that is requisite, is, Fortitude, and Courage, and Zeale: Wisedome is the eye; but Courage and Fortitude that is the hand: and so to the one there must be the other joyn'd; and certainly, where there is not zeale for God, and zeale against vice, there can be nothing done rightly: therefore Magistrates are called *Elim*, they are called the strong ones: as therefore, I told you, it is not enough for a Magistrate to say, I desire to doe good, and: I faine would doe good, but he must know how to doe good: So on the other side, he ought to be full of courage, and full of fortitude, that he be not any way hindred in the doing of the same, that he neither be flattered out, nor frighted out of his duty: nor to be afraid of the people, nor yet to be afraid of great ones. You may see *Saul* for feare of the people, and *Aaron* for feare of the people, how they were forced to commit sin: And so likewise on the other side, not for feare of great ones, that was *Zedekiahs* fault, that for feare of the Nobles, he deliverd up *Jeremy*.

6. Further in the next place, another great requisite in him, is a holy care of Family, of Officers, of those that belong to him, if he be a superiour. This you may see to be the resolution of *David* in the 101. *Psalme*: it is a *Psalme* that it is well if all Governours would be diligent in; you may see what he did resolve on, when he came

came to be a Governour, what familie he would have, and what Officers he would have: there should be no lyer in his house, nor no man prophane in his house, and he would destroy the wicked betime: and this was the purpose he did take on him: So that he ought to be carefull of his Family, and of those that are under him, that they be not prophane, that they be not bribed, that they be not deboist or ungodly. Beloved, to see a Governour with those following of him, that feare God, and that feare an oath, this is the best Lord-Majors show (as I may say.) It is spoken of *Constantine* to his great praise, that he would gather all his Court together, and have the Scripture read in his Palace, and pray with them, this shewed his care of his Family. That was *Joshua*'s resolution, *I, and my house will serve the Lord.*

Then againe in the next place, another Qualitie is diligence, and attending unto the office, making it to be their whole businesse: for so you may see here, the Apostle addes at the sixth verse, *Attending continually upon this very thing*: the word is emphaticall: they attend onely to this, and they attend wholly to this, they make it their businesse: Beloved! you ought to see the Lawes be executed: it is a vaine thing to have good lawes, unlesse Governours be diligent to see them executed; a good Law without execution, is like a Bell without a Clapper: and therefore the good Lawes that are against Swearers, and against Drunkennesse, and breaking of the Sabbath, and the like; these things Governours are to be diligent in the executing of them: he ought to be *ἔμψυχος νόμος*, *a walking and a living Law*, diligent in this. *Woe be to thee*, saith he, in *Eccles. 9. when thy Princes eat in the morning*: implying, that all the morning, all the day (almost) it ought to be taken up in the publike businesse, and that it ought to be your day-care, and your night-care, and your morning-care, even the Common-wealth. 7.

And then another thing is Patience, that is also requisite in those that are Governours, under a world of unthankfulnesse, and impatience, and censuring by the people: you may see what a deale of patience the happiest Governours in the world have been put upon; *Moses* and *Aaron*, though they tooke them out of bondage, and would have led them into *Canaan*: yet the people when they were alwayes in straights, were ready every out, these have undone us, and brought all this evill upon us. And so *David*, notwithstanding his good government, yet when the people were in danger, 8.

they

they spake of stoning of him: And so we might speake of *Themistocles*, and *Cato*, and many others; that when they had spent themselves for the good of the Common-wealth, yet were most ungratefully, and unthankfully requited againe by the people; so that they had need of a great deale of Patience and forbearance, regarding the publike more then their private injuries: It is related of *Themistocles* that when he was old, and had long governed the people, being wearied out with their unthankfulnesse, he said; That if he had the power to dispose of his life, and that there was one way wherein the greatest and the highest honours were for him in the Common-wealth; and another way was present death; he would rather choose the one then the other. And so likewise of *Æschines*, when he was delivered out of his office, he thanked God he was freed of the Common-wealth, *tanquam à rabida cane*. Thus there needs a great deale of Patience to goe through the unthankfulnesse of people, through their murmurings, discontents, when then have laboured for the publike good, and spent themselves.

9. Further, there is requisite a great deale of Clemencie and Moderation too; it is true indeed, lukewarmnesse, or pusilanimity, those are cursed, and they ought not to be in a Magistrate: Nothing spoiles Government more then when *languor justitiæ* does come *sub nomine pietatis*, when a faint-kind of Justice comes under the name of piety: but yet notwithstanding when we are bent for, and set wholly for God, then the Administration of Government with a great deale of moderation and meeknesse is very excellent: it is true, *Arduum est misereri simul & sapere*, it is a hard thing to be pittifull, and to be wise too; to have ones affections up, and to be wise too; yet notwithstanding we ought to do it: and a man is to have command over his passions; especially a man that is in authoritie: it is more then to winne, or overcome a great Citie; there is a great deale of difference between a moderate man, and a middle man; a middle man that lies downe in a cursed indifferent neutralitie (as the Covenant well cals it) He is not for the Cause of God, or the publike good; but the moderate man is fully for God, wholly for the Cause of God; only the Administration of his power it is with a great deale of wisedome and mildnesse: here's a world of difference between these two; and therefore you ought mightily to distinguish them. It was noted as a wicked thing of *Tiberius*, that

that he *medios vivos optimos judicare*, he did judge the middle men to be the best men: but what did he meane by middle men? Men that could not abide eminent vertues, nor great vices: He did hate eminent vertues, because from them he did *metuere periculum sibi*, he was afraid of danger by them. And then he did hate vice too, because by them he did *metuere publicum dedecus*, he was afraid of publike disgrace: There are many of that temper: But now a moderate man, he is a man whose heart is faithfully set for God, and who is bent for the publike, and all his soule is in it, and he is immoveable in it; yet notwithstanding the administration of this is with a great deale of meeknesse.

And then in the last place (and so I shall conclude) he ought to be humble, and trembling under this account that he is to give; that is necessary; they are not to lift up their heads above their brethren. As they are to take heed of pusilanimity and lowneſſe of spirit, *Contemnitur Magistratus qui seipsum prius contempsit*: that Magistrate must needs be contemned by the people, that hath first contemned himselfe by his low carriage. But yet on the other side, he ought to be full of humilitie, to tremble under the account he is to give: what shall he say to God? what shall he answer to God? might not he have hindered this measure of vice? might not he have done this good, and that good? It was a good saying of *Seneca*, *Principi non ministur pia sunt multa supplicia quam medico funera*. Many punishments, they are as great a shame to a Governour as funerals are to a Physitian: for it implyes, that the Governour should have had a great deale of care, and have prevented the punishment: happily his careleſneſſe hath wrought it; happily his negligence, or want of zeale hath wrought it. 10.

Now in the managing of these he is to follow the rule of the Word of God, without any carnall policy, or without any subtile considerations whatsoever; to be plaine hearted in carrying on the work of God; and you see when *David* would runne to carnall policie, it spoiled him. And so *Jeroboam*, it was his worldly and state policy that did undoe him: we ought to be so trusting of God, and depending on his Word, that when we doe our duty, we are to leave the succeſſe wholly to him.

The Reasons why they that are in Government must be thus qualified:

First, all their Actions have influence into the Common-wealth, 1.

and therefore it behoves them more then others to be so. The Eclipse of the Sun makes a great deale of motion and alteration in things below; and so, any Eclipse in those that are in Authoritie, and Government workes great but sad effects in inferiours.

2. And secondly, they are to doe it, because God hath a speciall care of them; who keepes thee that art in Authoritie and Government, that the wicked rise not up, and that the ungodly conspire not as one man to destroy Magistracie? who keeps this, but the Lord, that keepes the waves of the sea that they doe not overflow.

3. A third reason is, because their guilt will be the greater: Oh! beloved, it may be God is never more angry with a man, then when he puts him into a high place; then when he puts him into some great Office, that which he is glad of, (it may be) and that which he studies for, and plots for, and desires for; the Lord sayes he shall have it, but he shall have it in anger; he shall have it as the occasion wherein he will vent his sinnes the more, and as the advantage wherein he will destroy his owne soule; it may be God may never be more angry with a man, then when he lets him come into a place of Publike trust; and therefore he ought the more to tremble and to quake under the consideration of this.

Use 1. In the first place, let us make this use; is it so that Magistracie is appointed of God for our good? Government, is it for our good? Then it may reprove all those opinions and errours that are about Government; either in the defect, or in the excesse of it: In the defect, *Anabaptists* and *Socinians* that question the Authoritie of Magistracie: and so likewise Papists, though they question it not, yet notwithstanding have many destructive opinions about it.

And then, on the other side, in the Excesse, for there is politicke idolatry as well as spirituall; we may make a Magistrate an idoll; and that is, when we will obey him against God, when we have no other ground for our Worship or Religion then the Authoritie of a Magistrate, we look not to the Word of God; this is politicke idolatry, *Quicquid rex Demetrius jubet id erga homines justum & Deos sanctum*, that was their resolution.

Use 2. In the next place, Is it so that Magistracie is appointed for our good, then let us humble our selves under the consideration of the abuse of Government that hath been heretofore in our Kingdome and Nation, the abuse of it, I say; here (saies the Apostle) *if thou dost evill be afraid:* Oh beloved, were not the times, when men to

doe

doe good were afraid? were not the times, when if men prayed fervently, and when men preached powerfully, and when men stood for the publike good of the Kingdome; when they did these good things, were they not afraid? how terrible is it therefore, when the Nature and the Office of Government is altered, when men to doe good were afraid; and when men that did evill were not afraid, nor discouraged: when the Text now is altered, in stead of being a Minister of God to men for good, when Magistrates and Governors shall become Ministers of Satan for the evill and hurt of men, this is terrible.

In the third place, let us be thankfull, when the Lord raises up Magistracie for all these ends that we spake of: Let us blesse God for the Parliament, for those Worthies that have been raised up, that have eased us of many burdens and superstitions. All Government it is a mercy, but now when they are raised up so, as to be effectuall in a Reformation, and in working the will of God, this is much more. Beloved, any kind of Government is better then no Government. There was a Law amongst the Persians, that when their Governor was dead, there should be ἀναρχία τῶν ἡμερῶν, there should be a lawlesnesse for five dayes after, that every man should doe what he would: now for those five dayes there was such killing and robbing, and such destroying one another, that by the time the five dayes were over, they were glad of a Government again. So that I say, we are to blesse God for all Government, how much rather now when it is raised up for our good, and happinesse: And so likewise the Citie is to blesse God for the vigilancie and prudence of Governours: for the peace it hath been kept in, in the midst of these great confusions, troubles that have been abroad; that such a Citie as this is should be so quiet, in such times of Civill warres and of great ruines: here we are to acknowledge the mercy of God. *Use 3.*

The last use is of Exhortation unto those that have Elections and Votes, that are to chuse to day their Governour. Beloved, ye see by all that hath been said, Magistracie it is of God: and you see what are the ends and qualifications that ought to be in those men: Understanding the will of God: Men that are much in Prayer to God: Men that are of Fortitude and Courage: Men that are Prudent and Wise; that have a knowledge how to doe good, as well as a desire to doe good: And so also, Men that are carefull about Families, about their Officers, about their Servants, about *Use 4.*

all that doe belong to them: Men that will be diligent: Men that are of Publike spirits, that will abhorre to make a publike place, matter of their owne gaine: Men that shall be diligent in these things, to the execution of the good Lawes, that may be, or shall be established: whosoever is thus, thinke of such a man; whosoever, I say, is thus Wise, thus Diligent, thus Faithfull, thus Pious, thus Godly: whosoever is such, set up such a man. Beloved, you may bring a great deale of comfort, or a great deale of trouble to your selves this day: what a Comfort will this be to thee, that hast disposed thy Vote and suffrage; to say thus: I have chosen the man that will be a good Pilot of the Ship in the storme: I have chosen the man that will be a good Physitian, that will heale the breaches. Nay, all the good that comes by such a Magistracie will at last come to be thine, thou maist say, his Integritie is thine, the good he hath done is thine, it will all be counted to thee, who hast given thy suffrage for it. Therefore (beloved) deale faithfully with God, and the Common-wealth this day: and doe you so set about your worke, that God may be pleased; the good Cause of God may be advanced; the Parliament may bee incouraged; the Common-wealth may be blessed; the Citie may be made happy; and we all may be made rejoycing, and praising of God for this dayes worke.

BRITISH MUSEUM

FINIS.

IURA MAIESTATIS,

18

THE RIGHTS OF KINGS

BOTH In *CHURCH* and *STATE:*

1. Granted by *God.*
2. Violated by the *Rebels.*
3. Vindicated by the *Truth.*

AND,

The wickednesses of the Faction of this pretended PARLIAMENT at *Westminster.*

1. Manifested by their *Actions.*
   1. *Perjury.*
   2. *Rebellion.*
   3. *Oppression.*
   4. *Murder.*
   5. *Robberie.*
   6. *Sacriledge*, and the like.
2. Proved by their *Ordinances.*
   1. Against *Law.*
   2. Against *Equity.*
   3. Against *Conscience.*

PUBLISHED

1. To the eternall *honour* of our *just* God.
2. The indeleble *shame* of the *wicked* Rebels. And
3. To procure the happy *peace* of this *distressed* Land.

Which many feare we shall never obtaine, untill

1. The Rebels be *destroyed*, or *reduced* to the obedience of our King. And
2. The breaches of the Church be *repaired.*

1. By the *restauration* of Gods (now much *prophaned*) service. And
2. The *reparation* of the many injuries done to Christ his now *dis-esteemed* servants.

By GRYFFITH WILLIAMS *Lord Bishop of* OSSORY.

Impij homines, qui dum volunt esse mali, nolunt esse veritatem, qua condemnantur mali. Augustinus.

Printed at *Oxford*, Ann. Dom. 1644.



Carolus D: G: Mag: Brittaniæ
Fra: et Hibernia Rex &c.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT *MAJESTIE.*

Most gracious Soveraigne,

With no *small* paines (and the *more* for want of my books, and of any *setled* place, being *multùm terris jactatus & alto*, frighted out of mine house, and tost betwixt two distracted Kingdomes) I have collected out of the *sacred* Scripture, explained by the *ancient* Fathers, and the *best* Writers of Gods Church, these *few* Rights out of *many*, that *God* and *nature*, and *Nations*, and the *Lawes* of this Land have *fully* and undeniably *granted* unto our Sveraigne Kings. *My witnesse is in Heaven*, that as my *conscience* directed me, without any *squint* aspect, so I have with all *sincerity*, and freely traced and expressed the truth, as I shall

 answer

anſwer to the contrary at the *dreadfull* judgement; ὅτι ἐχθρὸς γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ ἀνδρῶν; therefore with all fervency I *humbly* ſupplicate the *divine* Majeſtie, ſtill to aſſiſt Your *Highneſſe*, that, as in Your *loweſt* ebbe, You have put on *righteouſneſſe as a breaſt-plate*, and with an *heroick* reſolution withſtood the *proudeſt* waves of the raging Seas, and the *violent* attempts of ſo many *imaginary* Kings; ſo now, in Your *acquired* ſtrength, You may ſtill *ride on with Your honour*; and, for the *glory* of God, the *preſervation* of Chriſt his Church, and the *happineſſe* of this Kingdom, not for the *greateſt* ſtorme that can be threatned, ſuffer *theſe* Rights to be ſnatched away, nor Your *Crowne* to be throwne to the duſt, nor the *ſword* that *God* hath given You, to be *wreſted* out of Your hand by theſe *uncircumciſed* Philiſtines, theſe *ungracious* rebels, and the veſſels of Gods wrath, κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν, unleſſe they do moſt *ſpeedily* repent; for if the *unrighteous* will be unrighteous *ſtill*, and our wickednesſe provoke God to bring our Land to deſolation, Your Majeſtie, ſtanding in the *truth* and for the *right*, for the *honour* of God and the Church of his Sonne, is abſolved from *all* blame, and all the *blood* that ſhall be ſpilt, and the *oppreſſions*, inſolencies, and abhominations that are perpetrated, ſhall be *required* at the *hands*, and revenged

venged upon the *heads* of these *detested* rebels. You are and *ought*, in the *truth* of cases of conscience, to be informed by Your *Divines*; and I am *confident* that herein they will *all* subscribe, that God will *undoubtedly* assist You, and arise in his *good* time, to maintaine *his owne cause*; and by *this* warre, that is so *undutifully*, so *unjustly* made against Your Majestie, so Giant-like fought against *Heaven*, to overthrow the *true* Church, You shall be glorious like King *David*, that was a *man of warre*, whose *deare* sonne raised a *dangerous* rebellion against him, and in whose reigne so *much bloud* was spilt; and yet, notwithstanding these *distempers* in his Dominion, he was *a man according to Gods owne heart*, especially, because that from « to »*, the *beginning* of his raigne, to the *end* of his life, his *chiefest* endeavour was to promote the *service*, and protect the *servants* of the Tabernacle, the *Ministers* of Gods Church. God Almighty to *continue* Your Majestie, *blesse* You and *protect* You in *all* Your wayes, Your *vertuous*, *pious* Queene, and *all* Your royall Progenie. Which is the *daily* prayer of

*As, in the beginning, by reducing the Arke from the *Philistines*, through out the midst, by setling the service of the Tabernacle, & in the ending by his resolution to build, and leaving such a treasure for the erecting of the Temple.

The most faithfull to Your Majestie

GRYFFITH OSSORY.

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THE

The Rights of Kings, both in CHURCH and STATE,

And,

The Wickednesses of this pretended *PARLIAMENT*, manifested and proved.

CHAP. I.

Sheweth who are the fittest to set down the Rights which God granted unto Kings; what causeth men to rebell; the parts considerable in S. Peter's words, 1 Pet. 2. 17. in fine. *How Kings honoured the Clergie; the faire but most false pretences of the refractary Faction, what they chiefly aime at, and their malice to Episcopacie and Royaltie.*

IT was not unwisely said by *Ocham* that great Schoolman to a great Emperour (which M. *Luther* said also to the Duke of *Saxonie*) *Tu protege me gladio, & ego defendam te calamo*; do you *defend* me with your Sword, and I will *maintain* your right with my pen; for God hath committed the Sword into the hand of the King, and his hand which *beareth not the Sword in vain* knoweth how to use *Guliel. Ocham, Ludov. 4.* Rom. 13. v. 4.

the Sword better than the Preacher, and the King may better make good his *Rights* by the Sword than by the pen, which having once *blotted* his papers with mistakes, and concessions more than due, though they should be never so *small* (if granted further than the truth would permit, as I feare some have done in some particulars) yet they cannot so *easily* be scraped away by the sharpest sword; and God ordered the *divine* tongue and *learned* Scribe to be the pennes of a ready Writer, and thereby to display the *duties* and to justifie the Rights of Kings; and if they faile in *either* part, the King needeth neither to *performe* what undue Offices they impose upon him, nor to *let passe* those just honours they omit to yield unto him; but he may *justly* claime his due Rights, and either retaine them or regain them by his Sword, which the Scribe either *wilfully* omitted, or *ignorantly* neglected to ascribe unto him, or else *maliciously* endeavoured, (as the most *impudent* and rebellious Sectaries of our time have most *virulently* done) to abstract them from him.

The Divine best to set downe the Rights of Kings.

And seeing the *Crown* is set upon the head of every Christian King, and the *Scepter* of government is put into his hand, by a threefold Law { 1. Of *Nature*, that is common to all. 2. Of the *Nation*, that he ruleth over. 3. Of *God*, that is over all. As,

Every Christian king established by a threefold Law.

1. *Nature* teaching every King to governe his People according to the *common* rules of honesty and justice.

2. The *politique* constitution of every severall State and particular Kingdome, shewing how they would have their government to be administred.

Psal. 119.

3. The *Law* of God, which is *an undefiled Law*, and doth infallibly set downe what *duties* are to be performed and what *Rights* are to be yielded to every King: for whatsoever things are written of the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah* in the holy Scriptures are not *only* written for *those* Kings and the government of that *one* Nation, but as the Apostle saith, *They are written for our learning*, that *all Kings* and Princes might know thereby how to *governe*, and *all Subjects* might in like manner by this *impartiall* and most perfect rule understand how to behave themselves

To what end the stories of the kings of *Israel* and *Judah* were written. Rom. 15. 4.

themselves in all *obedience* and loyalty towards their Kings and governours; for he that *made* man knew he had been better *unmade* than left without a *Government*; therefore as he ordained those *Lawes* whereby we should live, and set down those *truths* that we should believe; so he settled and ordained that *Government* whereby all men in all Nations should be *guided* and governed, as knowing full well that we neither *would* nor *could* do any of these things *right*, unlesse he himselfe did set down the *same* for us; therefore though the *frowardnesse* of our Nature will neither yield to *live* according to that Law, nor *believe* according to that rule, nor be *governed* according to that divine Ordinance, which God hath prescribed for us in his Word; yet it is most *certain*, that he left us not without a perfect *rule* and direction for each one of these, our *faith*, our *life*, and our *government*, without which *government* we could neither enjoy the *benefits* of our life, nor scarce reape the *fruits* of our faith: and because it were as good to leave us without *Rules* and without *Lawes*, as to live by *unwritten* Lawes, which in the vastnesse of this world would be soon *altered*, corrupted and obliterated; therefore God hath *written* down all these things in the *holy Scriptures*, which though they were delivered to the People of the *Jewes* for the government both of their *Church* and *Kingdome*, yet were they left with them to be *communicated* for the use and benefit of *all* other Nations, (*God being not the God of the Jewes onely, but of the Gentiles also*) because the Scripture in all *morall* and perpetuall precepts (that are not meerly *judicialia Judaica*, or *secundæ classis*, which the royall government was not, because this was ordained from the beginning of the world to be observed among all Nations, and to be continued to the end of the world: nor the types and shadowes that were to vanish when the true substance approached) was left as a perfect *patterne* and platforme for all Kings and People, *Pastours* and Flockes, *Churches* and Kingdomes throughout the whole world, to be directed how to *live*, to *governe*, and to be *governed* thereby. Such was the love and care of God for the *Government* of them that love and care as little to be governed by his government.

The ordination of our government as beneficiall as our creation.

Unwritten things most uncertain.

Rom. 3. 29.

Every Government the better by how much nearer it is to the Government of the Scripture kings.

And therefore the *dimme* and dusky light of *bleare-eyed* Nature, and the darke distracted inventions of the *subtilest* politickes must *stoope* and yield place in all things, wherein they swerve from that *strict* rule of justice and the *right* order of government, which is expressed *necessarily* to be observed in the *holy* Scripture, either of the *Kings* part towards his People, or of the *Peoples* duty towards their King.

And though each *one* of these faculties, or the understanding of *each* one of these three Lawes requireth more than the *whole* man, our life being too short to make us *perfect* in any one; yet seeing that of all *three*, the *Law of God* is *abyssus magna*, like the bottomlesse sea, and the *supreme* Lady, to whom all *other* Lawes and Sciences are but as *Penelopes* handmaids to attend her service; the *Divine* may farre *better* and much *sooner* understand what is *naturall* right, and what ought to be a *just* nationall Law, and thereby what is the *Right* of Kings, and what the *duty* of Subjects, than any, either *Philosopher* or *Lawyer* can finde the same by any other art; especially to understand the same so *fully* by the Law of God, as the Divine that *exerciseth himselfe therein day and night* may do it; unlesse you thinke (as our *Enthusiasts* dreame) that every *illiterate* Tradesman, or at least a Lawyers Latine (I speak of the *generality*, when I know many of them of much worth in all learning) may easily wade with the reading of our *English* Bibles into the *depth* of all Divinity, and that the *greatest* Doctour that spent all his dayes in studies, can hardly understand the mysteries of *these* Camelion-like Lawes, which may change *sense*, as often as the *Case* shall be changed, either by the *subtlety* of the Pleader, or the *ignorance*, or corruption of the Judges. But we know their *deepest* Lawes, *discreetest* Statutes, and *subtilleſt* Cases cannot exceed the reach of sound reason; and therefore no *Reason* can be shewed, but that a rationall man meanly understanding Languages, may sooner understand them, and with *lesse* danger mistake them, than that Law, which (as the Psalmist saith) is *exceeding broad*, and exceedeth all *humane* sense, and the most exquisite *naturall* understanding, when (as the Apostle saith) *The naturall man receiveth not the things*

The Divine is better able to understand Law, than the Lawyer to understand Divinitie.
Psal. 1. 2.

Psal. 119. 96.

1 Cor. 2. 14.

things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishnes unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned: and being not discerned or misunderstood, they make all such mistakers liable to no small punishment, if God *should be extreme to marke what is done amisse*: and this not understanding of God's Law, is the *errour* of other Lawes, and the *cause* of much mischiefe; for if men *understood* the *Law* of God, or would *believe* us that do understand it, I assure my selfe many of the *Rebels* (such as rebell not out of pride, disobedience, or discontent) are so conscientious, that they would not so rebell as they do, being seduced through their *ignorance*, by the *subtletie* of the most *crafty* children of disobedience.

What causeth many men to rebell.

The Scriptures say more for the right of kings than any booke in the world.

D. wing in his 4 scourse of the Ecclesiasticall State, p. 91.

And therefore letting the usuall impatience of the *furious* fire-brands of sedition, and the *malicious* incendiaries of Rebellion, together with those *treacherous Judasses*, that *insensibly* lurke in the King's *Court*, and are more dangerous both to the Church and State than those *open* Rebels that are in the *Parliament* House, to lay on me what *reproach* they please; as some of them being galled, and now gone, have already done, *Ego in bonâ conscientiâ teneo, quisquis volens detrahit famæ meæ, nolens addit mercedi meæ.* I shall believe it in a good conscience, that whosoever shall *wittingly* detract from my repute, and *unjustly* load me with *undue* disgrace, shall *unwillingly* adde to my reward; neither shall I ever thinke, *Plus ponderis esse in alieno convicio, quam in testimonio meo*, that there is *more* account to be had in the *foule* slander of another mans malice, than in the *spotlesse* testimonie of mine own conscience: but considering (as Saint *Hierome* saith) that, *Apud Christianos non qui patitur sed qui facit contumeliam miser est*; among Christians, not he that *suffereth*, but he that *offereth* injuries and reproaches is wretched; though (as *Osorius* saith) *Multæ insidiæ principibus à suis domesticis intenduntur, multæ fraudes in aulâ Regiâ quæstus & compendii gratiâ suscipiuntur, multæ partim adulatione & perfidiâ, partim offensionis periculosâ formidine dissimulantur, ita ut raro inveniantur qui Regibus liberè loqui audeant*; many snares are laid for Princes by their own *domestique* servants, many *deceitfull* trickes and cunning plots

Augustin.

Ambros.

Oson. in Epist. Reginæ Elis. pag. 7.

How kings are deluded by their owne Courtiers, and the truth concealed from them.

are undertaken in the King's Court for gain and honour sake, and many things partly for *feare* of offending, and partly through a perfidious and false *flatterie*, are dissembled, and the *truth* of things is imprisoned from the sight of the King. So that he that seeth with these Courtiers *eyes*, and heareth with their *eares*, can hardly know the certain state of his own affaires, especially when these flattering *Parasites* shall beare so heavie a hand over the *faithfull* servants, that few of them shall dare *freely* to declare the Truth: yet I am resolved to set downe the *plaine* face of Truth, without either *flattering* of my royall Master, or fear either of the Court flatterers hatred, or the Parliamentarie Factions *cruelties*; and though my *eldest* Brethren, that are *abler* than my selfe, should reprove me, and say unto me as *Eliab* said unto *David*, yet I will take my *staffe* in my hand, mine own *integritie* to uphold me, and my fidelity to my King and to *the King of kings* to protect me, and I will gather a few stones out of the *Brook* of living waters, out of the Book of *holy* Scriptures, and I hope with *one* of them to smite the *Philistine*, the three-headed *Gerion*, the *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, and *Puritan Rebell*, in the forehead, that he shall fall to the earth, his *head* shall be cut off with his *owne* sword, and the whole army of the *uncircumcised Philistines*, that is, all the rest of the *wilfully* seduced Rebels, that *refuse* to be undeceived, and to accept of his Majesties grace and pardon, shall *flie* away and be destroyed. And,

The Authours resolution with Gods assistance.

1 Sam. 17. 28.

The Adversaries of regall right.

The *first* stone that comes into my hand (which I believe will hit the Bird in the eye, and be *abundantly* sufficient to do the deed) is a stone taken out of the Rocke, that appeares *highest* in the Brook, that is Saint *Peter*, which our Saviour in the judgement of some Fathers, which I quoted in my True Church, calleth a *Rocke*, and in the judgement of most of the Fathers, and the *sober* Protestants, is the *Prince* of Apostles: for he saith, *Honour the King*; and this one *short* sentence *truly* understood, (though I confesse *many* others may seeme more full) is *absolutely* sufficient to overthrow all the *Anti-royalists*, and to silence all the *Basilen-Mastices*, all the opposers of their *own* Kings, throughout all the world, especially, if we consider,

τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε, 1 Pet. 2. 17.

1. Who

1. *Who* saith this, S. *Peter*.
2. *What* is said, *Honour the King*.
3. To *whom* he saith this, to *every* Soule.

First, the words are the words of Saint *Peter*, the *first* in order, the *chiefest* for authority, and the *greatest* for resolution of all the Apostles of Christ; and he spake them as he was *inspired* by the holy Ghost; therefore we may *believe* them, and we should *obey* them, or we should *feare* the judgements of God; for *if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turne away from him that speaketh from heaven.* 1. The Author of these words: 2 Pet. 1. 21: Hebr. 12. 25.

Secondly, the *Substance* of this precept containeth as *many* parts as there be Words,

1. *Who* is to be honoured, the *King*.
2. *What* is that honour that is due unto him.

2. The substance of the precept.

Which two points *rightly* understood, and *duely* observed as they are injoyned, would make a *peaceable* Commonwealth, and a most *flourishing* Kingdome, without any *Civill* broiles or *intestine* Rebellion, which is the *greatest* plague, and *heaviest* curse that God hath ever laid upon any Nation.

Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos. Lucan. l. 1.

I have therefore resolved (to *prevent* this evill, and to *dissuade* us from this *miserable* mischiefe) to say something of these *two* points, as may best heale the *bleeding* wounds of these *unhappy* and distracted times.

First, It is the most *Gratious* promise of our good God to all them that will *faithfully* serve him, *I will honour them that honour me*: and Saint *Augustine* saith, that *Sicut verax est in punitione malorum, ita & in retributione bonorum*; as he is most *certaine* in his threatnings, for the punishment of the wicked, so he is most *faithfull* in his promises for rewarding of the Godly; and that not onely for the *future*, but also in these *present* times, because *Godlinesse hath the promise both of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.* 1 Sam. 2. 30. 1 Tim. 4. 8.

Therefore *pious* Princes, that are God's *Vicegerents* here on earth, and his Deputies to discharge his promise, have accordingly *honoured* them, that have by their *upright* life and *indefatigable* How kings have honoured those that honoured God.

tigable paines honoured God in his Church, with double honour.

1. With Dignities.

1. With *titular* Dignities, *honourable* Places, and *considerable* eminencies in the Common-wealth, as *conceiving* it not unworthy, to make the *greater* lights of the Church to be not of *least* esteem in the Civil State, but *judging* it most convenient, that they whom God had *intrusted* with the *soules* of men, should with all *confidence* be intrusted with their *personall* actions, and with the *imployments* of the *greatest* trust.

2. With maintenance.

2. With *competent* meanes, in *some* sort answerable to support their Dignities, without which meanes, as the Poet saith, *Virtus nisi cum re vilior alga*. So *honourable* Titles without any *subsistence* is more contemptible than plaine beggery; therefore out of their *piety* to God, and *bounty* to the Church, they have conferred many *faire* Lordships and other large endowments upon the best deserving Members of Christs Ministers.

Matth. 13. 24. ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἀυτῦ ἦλθεν.

But as the *good* Husbandman had no sooner sown his *pure* Wheat, but immediately *Inimicus homo*, the evill and envious man, *superseminavit zizania*, sowed his poysonous Tares amongst them; so God had no *sooner* thus honoured his servants, but *presently* the Devill, which is * the *god of this world*, began to throw dirt in their faces, and to deprive them of both these honours: for,

* θεὸς τῦ αἰῶνος τέτυ. 2 Cor. 4. 4.

Leo papa Epist. 23.

What the factious Preachers pretended.

1. He stirred up *ignorant* men, of *small* learning but of *great* spirits, of *no* fidelity but of *much* hypocrisie, that; as Pope *Leo* wrote unto *Theodosius*, *Privatas causas pietatis agunt obtentu*, and under a faire pretext did play the part of *Æsop's* Fox, who being ashamed that his *taile* was cut off, began to inveigh against the *unseemly* burthensome tayles of all the other Foxes, and to perswade them to cut theirs off; that so by the *common* calamity he might be the *better* excused for his obscenity; for so they cried downe all *Learning* as prophane, they railed at the *Schoolmen*, they scorned the Fathers, and esteemed *nothing*, but that nothing which they had themselves: and although they professed to the Vulgar, that they aimed at no end but the purity of the Gospell, they desired nothing but the *amendment* of life and reformation of Ecclesiasticall Discipline,

pline, and hated nothing but the *pride* and covetousnesse of the Bishops, and the other dignified Prelates, which stopped their *mouthes*, and imprisoned the *liberty* of their consciences; yet the truth is, that because their *worth* was not answerable to their ambition, to enable them to climbe up to some height of honour, their *envy* was so great, that they would faine pull *downe* all those that had *ascended* and exceeded them.

And therefore with open mouthes that would not be silenced, they exclaimed against Episcopacie; and as the Apostle saith, spake evill of Dignities, imploying all their strength, like wicked birds, to defile their owne nests, to disrobe us of all honour, and to leave us naked; yea, and as much as in them lay, to make us odious, and to stinke (as the *Israelites* said to *Moses*) in the eyes of the people. Then

What the Factious ayme at.

2. As *Plutarch* tells us, that a certaine Sicilian *Gnatho* and *Philoxenus* the sonne of *Erixus*, that were slaves unto their *guts*, and made a god of their *bellies*, to cause all the other guests to *loath* their meat, that they *alone* might devoure all the dainties, did use *Narium muscum in cotinis emungere*; so doe these men *spit* all their poyson against the revenues of the Bishops, and that little maintenance that is left unto the Ministers, and are as *greedy* to devoure the same *themselves* as the dogs, that gape after *every* bit they see us put into our mouthes; for, so I heard a whelpe of that litter, making a *bitter* invective in the House of Commons against Bishops, Deanes, and Chapters, and the *greatnesse* of their revenue; and concluding that all they should be *degraded*, their meanes should be *sequestred*, and distributed all without any *diminution* of what they now possessed, but with the *restitution* of all Impropriations unto *himselfe*, and the rest of his factious fellow Preachers; which speech, as it pleased but few in the *latter* clause, so doubtlesse it had suiters enough in the *former* part, when we see this little *remnant* of our fore-fathers bounty, this *testimony* of our Princes piety, is the *onely morsell* that sticks in their eye, the undigested *morsell* in their stomacks, and the onely *bait* that they gape after; for did our King yeild this *garment* of Christ to be parted among their Souldiers, and this *revenue* of the Church to

Plutarch. in lib. περὶ τῦ ἀδολέσχου.

Doctor *Burges.*

be disposed of by the Parliament, I doubt not but all quarrels about the *Church* would soone end, and all other strife about *Religion* would be soone composed.

What many men would willingly undergoe to procure peace.

But, would this end all our *civill* warres, would the unbishoping of our *Prelates* bring rest unto our *Prince*, and the taking away of their *estates* settle the *State* of the Commonwealth, and bring *peace* and tranquillity unto this Kingdome? If so, we could be well contented for our *owne* parts, to be *sacrificed* for the safety of the people; for though we dare not say with Saint *Paul*, that we could wish our selves ἀνάθεμα, or seperated from Christ for our *Country-men*; yet I can say it with a *sincere* heart, that I beleeve many of us could be well contented our fortunes should be *confiscated*, and our lives *voided*, so that could procure the *peace* of the Church, which is *infinitely* troubled, redeeme His Majesties *honour*, which is so *deepely* wounded, and preserve this our native Country from that *destruction*, which this unparalled Rebellion doth so *infallibly* threaten: but the truth is, that the *abolishing* of Episcopacie, root and branch, the reducing of the best to the *lowest* ranke, and the bringing of the Clergie to the *basest* condition of servility, to be such as should not be worthy *to eat with the dogs of their flocke*, as *Job* speaketh, will not doe the deed; because, as the Satyrist saith, *nemo repente fit turpissimus*, but as vertues, so vices have their *increase* by use and progression, & *primum quodque flagitium gradus est ad proximum*, and every heynous offence is as an iron chaine, to draw on another. For as *Seneca* saith, *nunquam usque adeo temperant a cupiditates suas, ut in eo quod conceperunt desinant, sed gradus à magnis ad majora fit, & spes improbissimas complectuntur insperata assecuti*: our desires are never so farre temperated, that they *end* in that which is obtained, but the gaining of *one* thing is a step to seek *another*: And therefore, *si nos publicum jus omne positum sit in*

'Ανάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Rom. 9. 6.

The abolishing of Episcopacie would not satisfie the Factious.

Juven. Sat. 2.

Seneca de Clem. lib. 1.

Plato de legibus sacris, lib. 12.

Plato saith, how can it be, that they which have *prophaned* all sacred things, and have *degraded* their Ministers, should not also proceed to *depose* their Magistrates? if you be *diffident* to beleeve the same; let the Annals of *France*, *Germany*, *England* and *Scotland* be revised, and you shall finde that

Charles

Charles the fifth was then troubled with *wars*, when the Bishops were turmoyled, and tumbled out of their Seas: *& Scoti uno eodémque momento numinis & principis jugum excusserunt, nec justum magistratum agnoverunt ullum, ex quo primum tempore sacris & sacerdotibus bellum indixerunt*; and the *Scots* at *one* and the selfe-same moment did shake off the yoke of their *obedience* both unto their *God*, and to their *King*; neither did they acknowledge any for their *just* Magistrate after they had once warred against Religion and *religious* men, which were their Priests and Bishops, saith *Blacvodeus*: and in *France* (saith he) the *same* men were enemies unto the *King* that were adversaries unto the *Priests*; *quia politicam dominationem nunquam ferent, qui principatum ecclesiæ sustulerunt, nec mirum si regibus obloquantur, qui sacerdotes flammis & ferro persequuntur*; because (as I have shewed at large in my *Grand Rebellion*) they will never endure the *Politicall* Magistrate to have any rule, when they have shaken off the *Ecclesiasticall* government; neither is it any wonder that they should *slander*, rage against, and reject their *King*, when they *persecute* their *Bishops* with fire and sword.

Blacvod. Apolog. pro regibus, pag. 13.

The haters of the Bishops ever enemies unto Kings.

And I thinke the *sad* aspect of this *distracted* Kingdome at this time, makes this point so cleare, that I need not adde any *more* proofe to beget faith in any *sober man*; for doth not all the world see, that *assoone* as the seditious and trayterous faction in this *unhappy* Parliament, had cast *most* of the *Bishops*, the *gravest* and the *greatest* of all, with *Joseph*, into the dungeon, (a thing that *no* story can shew the like president in any age) and had voted them *all*, contrary to all right, out of their *indubitable* right to sit in the House of Peeres, (an *Act* indeed so full of *incivility*, as hath no *small* affinity with that of the *Gergesites*, who for love of their swine, *drave* not out, but *desired* Christ to depart out of their coasts:) they *presently* began to plucke the *sword* out of the Kings hand, and endeavoured to make their *Soveraigne* in many things more *servile* then any of his owne Subjects, so that he should be *gloriosissimè servilis*, as Saint *Augustine* saith, that *Homer* was *suavissimè vanus*: and to effect this, you see how they have torne in

How soone the Faction fell upon the King, after they had cast off their Bishops.

superiorem. Matth. 8. 34.

pieces all his *Rights*, they have trampled his *Prerogatives* under foot, they have as much as they could, laid his *honour* in the dust; and they have with *violent* warre and *virulent* malice, sought to *vanquish* and subdue their owne most *gracious* Soveraigne, which cannot chuse but make any *Christian* heart to bleed, to see such *unchristian* and such horrid unheard of things *attempted* to be done by any, that would take upon him the name of a Christian.

Therefore to manifest my *duty* to God, and my *fidelity* to my King, I have undertaken this *hard*, and to the Rebels *unpleasant* labour, to set downe *the Rights of Kings*: wherein I shall not be *affraid* of the Rebels power, neither would I have *any* man to feare them; for however, *Victores victique cadunt*; there may be a *vicissitude* of good successe many times on both sides, to *prolong* the warre for our sinnes, and they may prosper in *some* places; yet that is but *nubecula quædam*, a transient cloud, or a summer storme that will soone passe away; for we may *assure* our selves they shall not *prevaile*, because God hath said it, *By me Kings doe raigne*, and *He will give strength unto his King*, and exalt the horne of his Annointed; *He will scatter the people that delight in warre*, and make the *hearts* of the *cursed* Canaanites to melt, and their *joynts* to tremble; but, *He will satisfie the King with long life, and shew him his salvation.*

The Rebels for the punishment of our sins may prosper for a time, but at last they shall be most surely destroyed.
Prov. 8. 15.
Psal. 68. 30.
Josh. 9. 16.
Psal 91. 16.

CHAP. II.

Sheweth what Kings are to be honoured; the institution of Kings to be immediately from God; the first Kings; the three chiefest rights to Kingdomes; the best of the three rights; how Kings came to be elected; and how, contrary to the opinion of Master Selden, Aristocracie and Democracie issued out of Monarchie.

TO proceed then, you see the person that by Saint *Peters* precept is to be honoured to be the *King*, and what *King*

was that? but (as you may see in the beginning of this epistle) the King of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, and *Bythinia*; and what manner of Kings were they, I pray you? I presume you will confesse they were no *Christians*, but it may be as bad as *Nero*, who was then their Emperour, and most *cruelly* tyrannizing over the Saints of God, gave a very *bad* example to all other his *subjects* Kings and Princes to doe the like; and yet these *holy* Christians are commanded to *honour* them. And therefore,

What Kings are to be honoured.

1. *Heathen*, Pagan, wicked and tyrannicall Kings are to be *truly* honoured, by Gods precept.
2. *Religious*, just, and Christian Kings are to have a *double* honour, because there is a *double* charge imposed upon them: as,

The double charge of all Christian Kings.

1. To execute *justice* and judgement among their people; to preserve *equity* and peace, both from *intestine* broyles and *forraign* foes; which *carefull* government bringeth *plenty* and prosperity in all *externall* affaires unto the whole Kingdome; and this they doe as *Kings*, which is the *common* duty of all the Kings of the earth.

1. To preserve peace.

2. To maintaine *true* Religion; to promote the *faith* of Christ, and to be the *guardians* and foster-fathers unto the Church and Church-men, which tye their people unto God to make them *spiritually* and everlastingly happy; and *this* duty is laid upon them as they are *Christian* Kings: and therefore in regard of this *accession* of charge, they ought to have an *accession* of honour, more then all other Kings whatsoever.

2. To protect the Church.

1. Then I say, that the *Heathen*, Pagan, wicked and tyrannicall Kings, such as were *Nero*, *Diocletian*, and *Julian*, among the Christians, or *Achab* and *Manasses* among the Jewes, or *Antiochus*, *Dionysius*, and the rest of the Sicilian Tyrants among the Gentiles, are to be *honoured*, served, and obeyed of all their Subjects, and that in three speciall respects.

All Kings to be honoured in three respects.

1. Of their institution, which is the immediate ordinance of God.
2. Of Gods precept, which enjoyneth us to honour them.

3. Of all good mens practice; whether they be { 1. *Jewes.* 2. *Gentiles.* 3. *Christians.*

1. The institution of Kings, is immediately from God. *Iustin. lib. 1.*

1. *Justin* tells us, that, *Principio rerum gentium nationúmque imperium penes reges erat*, from the beginning of things; that is, the beginning of the world, the *rule* and government of the people of all nations was in the hands of Kings: *Quæ ad honoris fastigium non ambitio popularis, sed spectato inter bonos moderatio provehebat.* And *Herodotus* setteth downe how *Deioces* the first King of the *Medes* had his beginning. And *Homer* also nameth the Kings that were in and before the warres of *Troy*. But the choice of *Deioces*, and some others about that time and after, whereof *Cicero* speaketh, may give some *colour* unto our rebellious Sectaries, to make the royall Dignity *κατὰ ἀνθρώπους*, a humane ordinance; therefore I must get before *Herodotus*, and looke further then blinde *Homer* could see: and from the *first* King that ever was, I will *truly* lay downe the *first* institution and succession of Kings, and how times have wrought by corruption, the *alteration* of their right, and *diminution* of their power, which both God and nature had first granted unto them.

Herodot. lib. 1. Clio.

Cicero in Offic.

God the first King. *Βασιλεὺς τῶν ἁπάντων.* 1 Tim. 1. 17. Apoc. 19. 16.

And I hope no *Basilen-mastix*, no hater of Kings, nor opposer of the royall government can deny, but that *God* himselfe was the first King that ever the world saw, that was *the King of ages* before all worlds, and *the King of Kings* ever since there were any crested Kings. The *next* King that I reade of was *Adam*, whom *Cedrenus* stiles the *Catholique* Monarch; ὃς γὰρ ἁπάντων ἦν βασιλεὺς καὶ δεσπότης, ὃ ἔστι καθολικὸς τῆς γῆς ἅπασης βασιλεύς, a mighty King, of a *large* Territorie, of *great* Dominion, and of *unquestionable* right unto his Kingdome, which was the *whole* world, the earth, the Seas, and all that were therein. For, the *great* King of all Kings said unto him, *Be fruitfull and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the fowle of the aire, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.* Which is a very *large* Commission, when *dominare* is more then *regere*; and there-

Gen. 1. 28.

Adam the first King of all men.

fore

fore his royalty is so *plaine*, that none but *wilfull* ignorants will deny it to be *divinum institutum*, a divine institution, and affirme it, as they doe, to be *humanum inventum*, a humane ordination, when you know there were no men to chuse him, and you see God himselfe doth appoint him: and after the flood the Empire of *Noah* was divided betwixt his 3 sonnes; *Japhet* raigned in *Europe*, *Sem* in *Asia*, and *Cham* in *Africa*. *Ioban. Beda, de jure regum. p. 4.*

Yet I must confesse the *first* Kingdome that is spoken of by that name, is the Kingdome of *Nimrod*, who notwithstanding is not himselfe termed King, but in the Scripture phrase *a mighty hunter*, because he was not onely a *great King*, but also *a mighty Tyrant*, or oppressour of his people in all his Kingdome; or as I rather conceive it, because he was the first *usurper* that incroached upon his neighbours rights, to inlarge his owne dominions: and the first King that I finde by that name in the Scripture was *Amraphell*, King of *Shinar*, with whom we finde 8 other Kings named in the same chapter. Gen. 10. 9. Gen. 14. 1.

But we are not to contest about *words*, or to strive about the *winde*, when the Scripture doth first give this name unto them; the plaine *truth* is that which we are to enquire after; and so it is manifest, there were *Kings* ever since *Adam*, and so named ever since *Noahs* flood; for *Melchizedech*, which in the judgement of Master *Selden*, *Broughton*, and others, was *Sem* the eldest sonne of *Noah*, (though mine owne minde is set downe otherwise) was King of *Salem*; and *Justin* tells us, that long before *Ninus*, which was the sonne of *Nimrod*, there were many other Kings, as *Vexores* King of Ægypt, and *Tanais* King of Scythia, and the like; and as reason sheweth us that every one, *qui regis alios rex est*, so every master of a family that ruleth his owne household is a *petite* King, as we commonly say to this very day, *every man is a King in his owne house*; and as their families were the *greater*, so were they the greater Kings: so *Abraham* had 300 and 18 servants, that were able men for the warre in his owne house: and therefore the inhabitants of the Land tell him, *Princeps Dei es inter nos*, thou art a Prince of God, that is, a *great* ruler amongst us: and yet the *greatest* of these rulers were rather *reguli* then *reges*. Gen. 14. 14. Ἀμφοτέρων χαῖρε τυράννων, ἐχθρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἄλλοισιν. *Euripides de Cyclop.*

Kings

Kings of some Cities, or small Territories, and of no *large* dominion, as those 31 Kings which *Joshua* vanquished, doth make it plaine.

Josh. 12. 24.

Selden in his Tales of honour, *cap.* 1.

But Master *Selden* confesseth that *civill societies*, beginning in particular families, the heads thereof ruled as Kings: and as the world increased, or these Kings incroached upon their neighbours, so their Kingdomes were inlarged.

Kings therefore they were, and they were Kings from the beginning. But how they came to be Kings, or what *right* they had to that regall power, from whence their authority is derived,

1. Whether *God* ordained it: or,
2. *Themselves* assumed it: or,
3. The *people* conferred it upon them:

} herein lyeth all the question.

The chiefest rights to Kingdomes either of three wayes.

To which I must briefly answer, that the *right* of all Kings which have any right unto their Kingdomes, is principally either

1. By *birth*: or,
2. By the *sword*: or,
3. By *choice*.

} whereof

The last is and may be *just* and good.
The second is *so* without question: but,
The first is *most* just, & so *best* of all. For,

1. The best right, without contradiction, is by inheritance.

1. The *best* right, whereby the *Patriarches* and all the rest of the posterity of *Adam* injoyed their royalty, was that which God hath appointed; that is, the right of *primogeniture*, whereby the *elder* was by the law of nature, to *raigne* and rule over the younger; as God saith unto *Cain*, though he was never so *wicked* an hypocrite, *unto thee shall be the desire of thy brother, and thou shalt rule over him*, though he was never so *godly* and syncere a server of God: which made *Jacob* so earnestly desirous to purchase the birth-right, or the right of *primogeniture* from his brother. And

Gen. 4. 7.

Gen. 25. 31.

2. The right by conquest is a just and a good right.

2. When the *righteous* Kings became with *Nimrod* to be *unjust* Tyrants, then God that is not tyed to his *Vicegerent* any longer then he pleaseth, but hath right and power *Paramount* to translate the *rule*, and transferre the dominion of his people

to

to whom he will; hath oftentimes *throwne downe the mighty from their seat*, and given away their crownes and kingdomes unto others, that were more *humble and meeke*, or some other way fitter to effect his divine purpose, as he did the kingdome of *Saul* unto *David*, and *Belshazzar's* unto *Cyrus*; and this he doth most *commonly* by the power of the sword, when the Conquerour shall make his *strength* to become the *Law* of justice, and his *ability* to hold it, to become his *right* of enjoying it; for so he gave the Kingdomes of the earth to *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Augustus*, and the like Kings and Emperours, that had no *other* right to their Dominions, but what they purchased with the *edge* of their swords; which notwithstanding must needs be a *very* good right, as the same commeth from God, which is *the God of war*, and giveth *the victory unto Kings*; when, as the Poet saith, *Victrix causa Deo placuit*; and he deposeth his Vicegerents, and translateth the government of their Kingdomes, as he seeth cause, and to whom he pleaseth.

Psal. 89 44. So the *Israelites* enjoyed the kingdome of *Canaan*, and *David* the territories of them that he subdued, &c. Esdras 1. 2. Esay 45. 1, 2. Dan. 2. & c. 4.

Psal. 144 10.

3. When either the Kings *neglected* their duty, and omitted the care of their People so farre, as that the People knew not that they had *any* Kings, or *who* had any right to be their Kings, or upon the *incursions* of invading foes, the Nations being exceedingly multiplied, and having no Prince to protect them, did change the *orderly* course of right, belonging unto the *first-borne* (which their rude and *salvage* course of life had obliterated from their minds) unto the *election* and choice of whom they thought the *better* and the abler men to expell their *enemies*, and to maintain *justice* among themselves; so the *Medes* being *oppressed* with the insolencies and rapines of enemies and the greater men, said, it cannot be that in this corruption and lewdnesse of manners we shall long enjoy our Countrey: and therefore φῶμεν σφίσιν ἡμῶν αὐτοῖσι βασιλέα, καὶ ἤτοι ἡ τὰ χώρια ἐυνομήσεται. Let us appoint over us a King, that our Land may be governed by good Lawes. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ λέγοντες μηχανώμεθα, δι' ὧν ἀτρεμίης ἐπιτυχόντες ἐσόμεθα; and we turning our selves to our owne affaires need not be oppressed by the rage and violence of the lawlesse; and finding by their former experience of him, that

3. The right of elective kings, and how they came to be elected.

Herodot. lib. 1.

Deioces was the *justest* man amongst them, they *chose* him for his equity to be their King; which is the *first* elective King that I do reade of: and *Cicero* saith, *Mihi quidem non apud Medos solùm, sed etiam apud majores nostros, justitia fruenda causâ videntur olim benè morati reges constituti*: even as *Justin* said before. And when the People do *thus* make choice of their King, it is most true which *Roffensis* and our most learned Divines do say, that *Licet communicatio potestatis quandoque sit per consensum hominum, potestas tamen ipsa immediatè est à Deo, cujus est potestas*; though the power be sometimes conferred by the *consent* of men, yet it is *immediately* given from God, whose power it is. *Et communitas nihil sui confert regibus* (saith *Spalet.*) *nisi ad summum personam determinet; & potiùs personam applicat divinæ potestati, quàm divinam potestatem personæ*: *& ita Winton. Resp. ad Matth. Tort. fol.* 384. saith, *Christi Domini, non Christi populi sunt.*

Cicero in Offic. pag. 322.

Roffensis de potestate Papæ, fol. 283.

Spalet. tom. 2. 529.

Why kings were rejected by the people.

But as their justice and goodnesse moved the People to exalt them to this height of Dignity; so either their own *tyranny*, when change of place did change their manners, or their Peoples *inconstancy*, that are never long pleased with their governours, caused them to be *deposed* againe, and many times to be *murdered* by those hands that exalted them.

How the Aristocracie and Democracy issued out of Monarchy:

Then the People perceiving the *manifold* evils that flow from the *want* of government, do erect other governments unto themselves, and rather than they will endure the miserable effects of an *Anarchie*, they resigne their *hurtfull* liberty, and their *totall* power sometimes into the hands of *few* of the best of the flocke, which we call *Aristocracie* or optimacy, and sometimes into the hands of *many*, which we call *Democracie*, or a popular state. In all which *elections* of Magistrates, and *resignations* of the Peoples power *voluntarily* to the hands of their governours, call them what you will, Senate, Consuls, Duke, Prince or King, though I dare not any way *rejoll* any of them as a forme utterly *disallowed* and condemned of God; yet comparing them together, I dare boldly say, the *further* men go from God's *first* institution the *more* corruption we shall finde in them; and therefore it must needs follow that *Democracy*

Each forme of government lawfull:

cracy is the next degree to *Anarchie*, and Aristocracie farre worse than Monarchy; for though it may *seem* very unreasonable that *one* man should have *all* the power;

Democracy the worst kinde of Government.

——————*toto liber in orbe*
Solus Cæsar erit——————

And many *plausible* reasons may be alleadged for the rule of the *Nobles*, or of the People; yet the *experience*, that the *Roman* state had in those miserable *Civill* Warres, that so *frequently* and so extremely afflicted them, after they had put down their *Kings*, (as when *Caius Marius*, the *veanest* of the Commonalty, and *Lucius Sylla* the *cruellest* of all the Nobility, destroyed their *liberty*, and rooted out all *property*, by their *Civill* faction, and the assistance of an *illegall Militia*, and a multitude of *unruly* voluntiers) and the fatall *miscarriages* of many businesses, and the *bad* successes of their Armies, when both the Consuls went forth Generals, together with the want of unity, secrecy, and expedition, (which cannot be so well preserved amongst many) do sufficiently shew, how *defective* these Governments are, and how farre *beneath* the excellency of Monarchie, as it is most *fully* proved in the *unlawfulnesse of Subjects taking up armes against their Soveraigne*; and more *especially* by the wisest of men that tels us plainly, that *for the transgressions of a Land many are the Princes thereof, but by a man of understanding and knowledge the State thereof shall be prolonged*: and in another place he crieth, *Woe to that Land whose king is but a childe*, either in *knowledge* or in *yeares*; for that during his *infancy* and the want of ability, the government will be managed by *many* others, which can produce nothing else but *woes* to that Common-wealth; and therefore Saint *Augustine* saith, that if they who beare rule in *Democracy* do corrupt *justice*, a good powerfull man may lawfully change that *Democraticall* goverment into an *Aristocraticall* or *Monarchicall*; but yet shall never finde it in any Christian Authour, that any man, be he never so *good*, never so powerfull may *lawfully*, upon any occasion or pretence, change the *Monarchie* into an *Aristocracy*, or *Democracy*; because it is lawfull for us to reduce things from the *worst* and remotest state to

Inter patres plebemque certamina exercere modo tribuni, modo consules prævalidi; & in urbe ac foro tentamenta civilium bellorum; mox è plebe infimo C. Marium, & nobilissimum sævissimus L. Sylla victam armis libertatem in dominationem vertere, Tac. l. 2. hist. p. 16. usque 28. Prov. 28. 2.

Eccles. 10, 16.

Aug. de l. arbit. l. 1. c. 6.

the *better* and the nearer to the originall forme, but not from the *better* to a *worser* and remoter from its originall institution, which is then *soundest* when it is *nearest* to its first ordination.

CHAP. III.

Sheweth the Monarchicall Government to be the best forme; the first Government that ever was; agreeable to Nature, wherein God founded it; consonant to God's own Government; the most universally received throughout the world; the immediate and proper Ordinance of God; when the other Governments began; how allowed by God; the quality of elective Kingdomes, not primarily the institution of God; and the nature of the People.

The Monarchicall government best.

THerefore it is apparent, that of all sorts of Government the *Monarchie* is *absolutely* the best, (and of all Monarchs the best right is that which is *hereditary*) because it is,

§ 1. The first in Nature.

§ 2. The prime and principall Ordinance of God. For,

1. Reason. *Selden* in his Titles of Honour, *lib.* 1.

1. Though Master *Selden* saith, that *naturally* all men in œconomicke rule, being *equally* free, and *equally* possest of superiority in those ancient propagations of mankinde, even out of Nature it selfe, and that inbred sociableneese which every man hath, as his *character* of civility, a popular state first raised it selfe, which by its *owne* judgement afterward was converted into a Monarchie; and in the fourth page of his Book rejecteth the opinion of *great* Philosophers, that affirme with Saint *Austin* the first of the three Governments to be a Monarchy, and affirmeth *positively* that the Monarchy hath its *originall* out of a Democracy, as Aristocracie likewise had; yet I say, that this contradicteth his first *Thesis*, where he asserteth that the husband, father, and master of the house ruled as a King: and therefore the Monarchie must needs be before either Aristocracy or Democracy: and where citing *Pausanias*, that *In Bœoticorum*

ticorum initio, saith, βασιλείας πρώτας μὲν Ἑλλὰς ἔσχε καὶ ὀνόματα πολιτείας πάλαι κατέστησαν. All *Greece* was anciently under *Kings* and no Democracies, he is driven to confesse, *pag.* 5. that a family, being in Nature before a *publike* Society or Commonwealth, was an *exemplary* Monarchie, and in that regard Monarchie is to be acknowledged *ancienter* than any other state; and so not onely the *Orthodoxall* people, but the *Pagans* also had this notion thereof by the instinct of Nature; for the *Cappadocians* being vanquished by the *Romans*, did instantly request them to give them a *King*, protesting that they were not otherwise able to maintain themselves; and so most other Nations esteemed that true, which *Herodian* saith, that as *Jupiter* hath command over all the gods, so in imitation of him, it is his pleasure, that the Empire of men should be *Monarchicall*.

Monarchy ancienter than any other government.

Monarchicall government most agreeable to Nature.

And indeed it is concluded by the *common* consent of the best *Philosophers* that the Lawes of *Nature* lead us to a *Monarchie*, as when among all Creatures both animate and inanimate, we do alwayes finde *one* that hath the preheminence above all the rest of his kinde, as among the *Beasts* the Lion, among *Fowles* the Eagle, among *Graines* the Wheat, among *Drinkes* the Wine, among *Spices* the Baulme among *Metalls* the Gold, among the *Elements* the Fire, among the *Planets* the Sun; and all the best *Divines* conclude the *Monarchicall* government to be the most lively image and representation of the *divine* regiment and government of God, who as *sole* Monarch ruleth and guideth all things; and therefore we finde all the Nations of greatest renown lived under the *Royall* Government, as the *Scythians*, *Æthiopians*, *Indians*, *Assyrians*, *Medes*, *Ægyptians*, *Bactrians*, *Armenians*, *Macedonians*, *Jewes*, and *Romans* first and last; and at this day the most *famous* people live under this forme, as the *English*, *French*, *Spaniards*, *Polonians*, *Danes*, *Muscovites*, *Tartars*, *Turkes*, *Abissines*, *Moores*, *Agiamosques*, *Zagathinians*, *Cathaians*; yea and the *Salvage* people lately discovered in the *West Indies*, as being guided thereto onely by the rules of *Nature*, do all of them in a manner live under the Government of *Kings*; and I believe the Apostle

Monarchy founded in Nature.

Consonant to the Divine government.

The government of the most famous Nations Monarchicall.

—Summo dulcis vanum flare labori, Scissique comæ discordia regnis, Statius Thebaid. 1.

doth *specially* meane the *Regall* Government, though he speaketh *plurally* of powers, as understanding the same of many Kings, because he speaketh but of *one* μάχαιρα, one sword, which being wrested out of the hand of the *King*, and put amongst *many* would make them all, like *mad* men, fall out and fight, which of them should beare it, when *one* Sword can never be well guided by *many* hands; and therefore I thinke it is a *madnesse* indeed for any people to be weary of that government which God first *ordained*, which is most *agreeable* unto Nature, most *consonant* to God's government, most *acceptable* to God himselfe, and most *profitable* unto men, and to affect a *late* new invented government full of all dangers and inconveniences.

A family is a small kingdom, and a kingdom a great family.

Therefore it is apparent that *Monarchie* is the *first* Ordinance of all governments; a family being nothing else but a *small* Kingdome, wherein the *paterfamilias* had *Regall* power, *& potestatem vitæ & necis*, even over his own children, as I have elsewhere shewed in the example of *Abraham*, and of other Heathens, that *justly* executed their own sonnes; and a Kingdom being nothing else but a *great* family, where the *King* hath *paternall* power, and more than fathers now have, because of the great *abuse* that divers fathers committed, while they had their *plenary* authority: therefore it was thought fit to abridge them of that *pristine* power, and to place it all in the hands of the more *publique* father.

And to make this yet *more* plaine unto the world, I would fain know of these *Democraticall* men,

{1. When} their Democracy and Aristocracy had their
{2. How} being, and came first in use.

I have shewed the age of Monarchie to be from *Adam*.

primâq; ab origine mundi,
Ad mea perpetuum deduxi tempora Regem.

When Aristocracies and Democracies began.

And I cannot remember that any *Democracie* or *Aristocracy* was in all the *Assyrian* Monarchy, which notwithstanding lasted above a thousand yeares; for the *Aristocracies* of *Greece*, alas, they are but of yesterday, of no age, long after *Homers* time, which yet lived but about the time of *Jephte* Judge of *Israel*, and besides, I will not believe, —*Quicquid*

Quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historijs.

And for the Democracy of *Rome*, *Titus Livius* sheweth when it was first hatched, after the expulsion of *Tarquinius Superbus*; if therefore you will believe *Tertullian*, that *id verius quod prius*, you must needs give the precedencie of all governments unto Monarchy.

But that which is *more* considerable is to understand how these birds flitted out of the *nest* of Monarchy? Our Saviour saith, *Every plant which my father planted not shall be rooted up*: that he planted *Monarchie*, I have made it plaine; but when this *Vine* began to grow wilde, and instead of *grapes* to bring forth bitter clusters, that is, oppression, instead of *justice*; the people grew weary of God's Ordinance, and loath to be contained within the bounds of obedience, when they found strength and oportunity they withstood their *lawfull* but *degenerated* Kings, and then they *deposed* them from their estates and deprived them of their lives; so that as the Poet saith;

Matth. 15. 13.

What caused the change of Monarchy.

Juvenal Satyr. 10.

Ad generum Cereris sine cade & sanguine pauci
Descendunt reges, & sicca morte tyranni.

And thinking to finde a *better* way than that which they found so *thorny*, and a *better* government than that which *formerly* they found so bad, they *elected* those men, whom they thought would make them happy, sometimes *more*, and sometimes *fewer*, as their disposition was, to be their governours: so after the expulsion of *Tarquinius* the *Romans* chose two Consuls, and these giving not a *plenary* content unto the People, they added the *Tribunes* to bridle the disorders of the Consuls, and when all this would not *satisfie* their unsatiable expectation, they must have their *Decem viros*, and in great danger their *Dictator*, then comes the *Triumvirat*, of *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and *Augustus*, who at last takes upon him the name of an *Emperour*, but the *full* power of a King, and governes all as the *sole* Monarch: thus they ran in a maze, and turned round like a wheele: and I should but weary my Reader to trace the *Greek* Histories, to set down the state of *Athens*, under the thirty Tyrants, or of the *Lacedæmonians* under those *Ephori*, that

The unconstancy of the people in the choice of their governours.

The government never setled till it came, as all things in nature, εἰς τὸν τύραννον τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, to Monarchy.

Lacedæmoniorum aristocratia ex duobus Regibus quinque Ephoris, octo & viginti Senatoribus composita

that bore a faire shew to restrain their Kings, but were indeed a scourge and plague unto the People; so that in truth, the remedy proved farre worse than the disease, *excessit medicina modum*, and the *change* of Government never brought any other good, but an *exchange* of miseries, the *greater* for the *lesser*, unto the People, as for that one rape of *Lucrece* by *Tarquinius*, to undergo a thousand *greater* insolencies under the new erected Government of the Consuls and Tribunes; and the *Israelites* for preventing the snatching of the flesh out of their pots, by the sonnes of *Eli*, and growing weary of the sonnes of *Samuel*, to have a *Saul*, that shall teare their *own* flesh in pieces, and *take their sonnes and their daughters for his vassals*.

1 Sam. 2. 14. 15

Chap. 8. 11.

2. Reason that Monarchy is the best forme of government.

2. As the hereditary Monarch is the *first* kinde of Government, so it is the *principall* and best government; because it is the immediate Ordinance of God, that he set down for the Government of his People; for this was ordained by God *himselfe*, and so continued among his People, even in an *hereditary* way, unlesse the *same* God designed another person by those Prophets, that he inspired for that purpose; as it was in the case of *David*, *Solomon*, and *Jehu*; and it is certain, that the *wisest* of men cannot devise a *better* Forme of Government than God ordained: therefore the *choice* of one or more, made by the People to be their King or Governour, cannot be (if not without sin) yet I am sure, without *folly*; but seeing, as our Saviour saith, *a Sparrow cannot light upon the ground without the providence of our heavenly Father*: so I must confesse;

Matth. 10. 29.

——— *hæc non sine numine divûm*
Eveniunt ———

This election of Kings and change of the *first* Ordinance happened not without God's *providence*, either for the *tyranny* of the evill Kings, or the *punishment* of the rebellious people: and therefore as *Moses* for the hardnesse of those mens hearts that hated their wives, to prevent a *greater* mischiefe, either continuall *fighting*, or secret *murdering* one another, sufficed them to give their wives *a bill of divorcement*, (but as our Saviour

Deut. 24. 1.

viour saith, *Non erat sic ab initio*, it was not any *primary* Ordinance of God, but a *permissive* toleration of the *lesser* evill; so when the People out of their froward disposition to God's *first* Institution of the *Regall* Right, and presuming to like *better* of their owne choice do alter this *hereditary* Right and divine Ordinance into the election of one or more Governours, either *annuall*, as among the ancient *Romans*, or *vitall*, as it is in the present state of the *Venetians*; God, out of his infinite *lenity* to our humane frailty, rather than his People should be without *Government*, and so many *hainous* sinnes should go *unpunished* doth *permit*, and it may be *allow* and approve the same, though sometimes not without *great* anger and indignation for our contempt and distaste of his *heavenly* institution; as when the *Israelites*, weary of the Judges that succeeded *Moses*, who was a King in *Jesurun*, and that God raised still to rule as *Kings* amongst them, to make *War* against their enemies, and to *judge* them according to the Law in the time of peace, which are the two *chiefest* Offices of all Kings, desired to have a King, *to judge them like all the Nations*; not a King simply (for so they had indeed though not in name) but a King *like all the Nations*, that is, a King of a more *absolute* power than the Judges had, as *Samuel* sheweth, and they seem contented therewith: God sent them a King *in his wrath*, because *they had rejected him, that he should not reigne over them*; that is, they had refused to submit themselves to his *Ordinance*, and to obey the Kings that he *appointed* over them, but they must needs be their *own* carvers and have a King of their owne *election*, or *such* a King (invested with a more *absolute* power) as they desired, though notwithstanding they did most *hypocritically* seem to desire none but whom God appointed over them; and therefore perceiving their *own* errour, and seeing their *own* offence by the *anger* that God shewed, they *confessed* their fault, and did alwayes thereafter accept of their Kings by *succession*, but onely when their Propbets by the *sacred Ointment* had ordained another by God's speciall designation.

Matth. 19. 8.

How God allowed the Aristocraticall and Democraticall Government, and why.

Deut. 33. 5.

1 Sam. 8. 5.

vers. 7.

The lamentable successe of the first elective Kings.

But I cannot finde it in *all* the Scripture, or in any *other* Writings authenticall, where God *appointed* or commanded any

People to be the *choosers* of their Kings, but rather to *accept* of him, and *submit* themselves to him, whom the Lord had placed over them. For I would very fain know, as *Roffensis* speaketh, *An potestas Adami in filios ac nepotes, adeoque omnes ubique homines, ex consensu filiorum ac nepotum dependet, an à solo Deo ac natura profluit?* And if this autority of the Father be from God without the *consent* of his children, then certainly the authority of *Kings* is both naturall and divine *immediately* from God, and not from any *consent* or allowance of men; and *Pineda* saith, *Nusquam invenio Regem aliquem Judæorum populi suffragiis creatum, quin si primus ille erat, qui designaretur à Deo, vel a Propheta ex Dei jussu, vel sorte, vel aliâ ratione quam Deus indicasset.* Neither do I remember any one that was chosen King by the Children of *Israel*, but onely *Abimelech* the bastard son of *Gedeon*, and (as some say) *Jeroboam* that made *Israel* to sin; and the Scripture tels you how *unjustly* they entered, how *wickedly* they reigned, and how *lamentably* the first, that was without question the *Creature* of the People, ended both his *life* and his *Reigne*; to teach us how *unsuccessull* it is to have other *makers* of Kings than he that is the *King of kings*, and saith, *He will not give his glory unto another*, nor hold them *guiltlesse* that intrude into his Throne, to bestow *Soveraignty* and create Kings at their pleasures, when as he professeth, it belongeth unto him, not to the *People*, to say, *Ye are gods*, and to place his own Viceroy to governe his own People.

Roffen. de jo test. Papa, 232.

Pineda de rebus Solo. l. 2 c. 2.

Strange that the People should bestow the greatest favour or dignity on earth.

Esay 42. 8.

And therefore though I do not wonder to finde *Aristotle* of that opinion, *Ut reges populi suffragio constarent*, that Kings should be elected by the *People*, and that it was the manner of the *Barbarians* to accept of their Kings by succession, *Quales sors tulerit, non virtutis opinione probatos*, such as *nature* gave them, and not those which were approved by the People for their vertues; because he was ignorant of the *divine* Oracles; yet me thinkes it is very strange that men *continually* versed in God's Word, and knowing the *nature* of the People, which as one saith, *Semper ager est, semper insanus, semper furore & intemperiis agitur*, and specially *reading* the story of times, should

Arist. pol. l. 3.

The nature of the people.

Blac wod. p. 63. and as T. Liv. saith, Dui servitii humiliter, aut dominatur superbè.

should be transported with such *dreames* and fopperies, that the People should have any hand in the *election* of their Kings: for if you *briefly* run over *most* of the Kings of this world, you shall scarce finde one of a *thousand* to be made by the *suffrage* of the people; for *Nimrod* got his Kingdome by his strength, *Ninus* enlarged the fame by his sword, and left the same unto his heires; from the *Assyrians* the Monarchy was translated to the *Medes* and *Persians*, and I pray you how? by the *consent* of the People, or by the *edge* of the sword? From the *Persians* it was transferred to *Alexander*, but the same way; and it continued among his successours by the *same* right: and *Romulus*, *Ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites.* did not obtain his power by the *suffrage* of his People; and if you look over the States of *Greece*, we shall finde one *Timondas* which obtained the Scepter of the *Corinthians*, and *Pittacus* the Government of the *Mitylenians* by the suffrage of the People; but for the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, *Sicyoni*, *Thebanes*, *Epirots*, and *Macedons*, among whom the *Regall* Dignity flourished a farre longer time than the *popular* rule, *Non optione populi sed nascendi conditione regnatum est*; their Kings reigned not by the *election* of the People, but by the *condition* of their *birth*: and what shall we say of the *Parthians*, *Indians*, *Africans*, *Tartars*, *Arabians*, *Æthiopians*, *Numidians*, *Muscovites*, *Celtians*, *Spaniards*, *French*, *English*, and of many other Kingdomes that were obtained, either by *gift*, as *Abdolonimus* received his Kingdome of *Alexander*, *Juba* the Kingdome of *Numidia* from *Augustus*, and the *French* King got the Kingdome of *Naples* and *Sicily*; or by *Will*, as the *Romans* had the Kingdomes of *Egypt*, *Bithinia*, *Pergamus*, and *Asia*; or by *Armes*, as many of the foresaid Kingdomes were *first* gotten, and were *always* transmitted afterwards to posterity by the *hereditary* right of bloud? And the Poet could say,

Of all the Kings of the world, very few made by the suffrage of the People.

Id. pag. 63.

Quintus Curtius.

Claud. de 4. cons. Honorii.

——terra dominos pelagi{q}, futuros
Immenso decuit rerum de principe nasci.

It behoved the Kings of the earth to be borne of Kings.

Besides we must all confesse, that the King is the *Father* of people, the *Husband* of the *Common-wealth*, and the *Master* of

Children and servants not allowed to choose what fathers and masters they please.

all his Subjects: and can you shew me, that God ever appointed that the *children* should make choice of their fathers? then surely all would be the sonnes of *Princes*; but though fathers may *adopt* their sonnes, as the King may make a Turke or any other stranger a *free* Denizon; yet children may not *choose* whom they please for their fathers, but they are bound to honour *those* fathers that God hath *appointed*, or suffered to beget them; though the same should be be never so *poore*, never so *wicked*; so the wives, though while they are free, they may have the power to *refuse* whom they dislike, yet they have no such prerogative to *choose* what husbands they please; or if they had, I am sure no woman would be lesse than a *Lady*; and the like may be said of all servants.

Therefore the *election* of Kings by the People seemes to me no *prime* Ordinance of God, but as our Sectaries say, κλῆσις ἐφεστῶσα, A *humane* Ordination indeed, and the corruption of our Nature, a meere ἐπίνοια πονηρά, and an imitation of what the Poet saith,

Optat Ephippia bos niger, optat arare caballus.

Just as if the *women* would faine have that Law *of liberty to choose what husbands* they please, and the *servants* to make choice of what *Masters* they like best; so the People, never *contented* with whom God sendeth, never *satisfied* with his Ordinance, would fain pull their neckes out of God's yoke, and become their *own choosers* both of their *Kings* and of their *Priests*, and indeed of all things else, when as nothing doth *please* them but what they do, and none can *content* them, but whom themselves will *choose*; and their *choice* cannot *long* satisfie their mindes, but as the *Jewes* received Christ into *Jerusalem*, with the joyfull acclamation of *Hosanna*, and yet the next day had the maliciousery of *Crucifige*, so the least distaste makes them greedy of a new change; such is the nature of the People.

The People are in all things greedy to have their own wils.

But though I said before, the *election* of our chiefe Governours may for many respects be *approved* of God among some States, yet I hope by this that I have set down, it is most *apparent* unto all men, contrary to the tenet of our *Anabaptisticall*

Sectarie

Sectaries, that the *hereditary* succession of Kings to governe God's People is their *indubitable* right, and the *immediate* prime, principall Ordinance of God: therefore it concernes *every* man, as much as his soule is worth, to examine *seriously*, whether to fight against their *owne* King be not *to resist the Ordinance of God*, for which God threatneth no lesse punishment than *damnation*, from which *Machiavel* cannot preserve us, nor any *policy* of State procure a dispensation.

CHAP. IV.

Sheweth what we should not do, and what we should do for the King; the Rebells transgressing in all those; how the Israelites honoured their persecuting King in Egypt; how they behaved themselves under Artaxerxes, Ahashuerus, *and under all their owne Kings of Israel; and how our Kings are of the like institution with the Kings of Israel; proved in the chiefest respects at large; and therefore to have the like honour and obedience.*

2. As every *lawfull* King is to be *truly* honoured in regard of God's Ordinance, so likewise in respect of God's *precept*, which commandeth us *to honour the King*; and this *duty* is so often inculcated and so fully laid upon us in the *holy* Scripture, that I scarce know *any* duty towards man so *much* pressed, and so *plainly* expressed as this is;

2. All Kings are to be honoured in respect of God's precept, considered two wayes.

1. *Negatively*, what we should not do, to *deprive* him of his *Honour*.

1. What we should not do.

2. *Affirmatively*, what we should do, to *manifest* and magnifie this *Honour* towards him: for,

1. Our very *thoughts*, *words*, and *workes* are *imprisoned* and *chained* up in the linkes of God's strictest *prohibition*, that they should no wayes peepe forth, to produce the *least dishonour* unto our King: for,

1. To think no ill of the King; *Curse not the King, no not in thy thought*, Eccles. 10. 20.

2. The *Spirit* of God by the mouth of the *wisest* of men, commands

commands us to *thinke* no ill of the King, let the King be what he will, the precept is without *restriction*; you must *thinke* no ill, that is, you must not *intend* and purpose in your thoughts to doe the *least* ill office or disparagement unto the King that ruleth over you, be the same King virtuous or vitious, milde or cruell, good or bad: this is the *sense* of the Holy Ghost. For, as the childe with *Cham* shall become accursed, if he doth but dishonour and despise his wicked father (or his father in his wickednesse) whom in all duty he ought to reverence, so the Subject shall be liable to Gods *vengeance*, if his heart shall intend the *least* ill to his most tyrannicall King.

2. To say no ill of the King. Exod. 22. 28. Act. 23. 5. ἄρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς.

2. The *same* Spirit saith, *Thou shalt not revile the Gods*; that is, the *Judges* of the Land; *nor curse*, that is, in Saint *Pauls* phrase, *speake evill of the Ruler of the people*: and what can be *more* evill, then to *bely* his *Religion*, to traduce his *Government*, and to make so *faithfull* a Christian King as *faithlesse* as a *Cretan*, which is commonly broached by the *Rebels*, and preached by their *seditious* teachers.

3. To doe no hurt to the King. Psal. 105. 15. 1 Sam. 24. 4, 5.

3. The great *Iehovah* gives this peremptory charge to all Subjects, saying, *Touch not mine Annointed*; which is the *least* indignity that may be: and therefore *Davids* heart smote him when he did but cut off the lap of *Saules* garment. What then can be said for them that draw their *swords*, and shoot their *Canons*, to take away the life of Gods Annointed, which is the greatest mischiefe they can doe? I believe no *distinction* can blind the judgement of Almighty God, but his *revengefull* hand will finde them out, that so *maliciously* transgresse his precepts, and thinke by their *subtilty* to escape his punishments.

2. What we should doe to honour the King. Eccles 8. 2.

2. The Scriptures doe *positively* and plainly command us to shew all *honour* unto our King. For,

1. To observe the Kings commandements,

1. *Salomon* saith, *I counsell thee to keepe the Kings commandement*; or, as the phrase imports, *to observe the mouth of the King*; that is, not onely his *written* law, but also his *verball* commands, and that *in regard of the oath of God*; that is, in respect of thy religion, or the solemne *vow* which thou madest at thine initiation and incorporation into Gods Church, to obey all the *precepts* of God, whereof this is one, *to honour and obey*

the

the King; or else that *oath of allegiance* and fidelity, which thou hast sworne unto thy King in the *presence* and with the *approbation* of thy God, which certainly will plague all *perjurers*, and take revenge on them that *take his name in vaine*; which is the *infallible*, and therefore most miserable condition of all the *perjured* Rebels of this Kingdome. For if *morall* honesty teacheth us to keepe our *promises*, yea, though it were *to our owne hinderance*, then much more should *Christianity* teach us to observe our *deliberate* and solemne oathes, whose violation can beare none other *fruit*, then the heavy censure of Gods fearefull indignation.

Et si religio tollitur, nulla ego bus cum cœlo ratio est. Lactant. Inst. lib. 6. 10.

But when the *prevalent* faction tooke a *solemne* Oath and Protestation to defend all the *Priviledges* of Parliament, and the *Rights* of the Subjects; and then presently *forgetting* their oath, and *forsaking* their faith, by throwing the Bishops out of the House of Peeres, (which all men knew to be a *singular* Priviledge, and the House of Lords acknowledged to be the *indubitable* right of the Bishops) and their doctrine being to *dispense* with all oathes for the furtherance of the cause, it is no wonder they falsifie *all oathes* that they have made unto the King.

How the prevalent Faction of the Parliament forswore themselves.

2. The people said unto *Joshuah*, *Whosoever rebelleth against thy commandement, and will not hearken to the words of thy mouth in all that thou commandest, he shall be put to death*: surely this was an *absolute* government, and though *martiall*, yet *most excellent* to keepe the people within the bounds of their obedience; for they knew that where *rebellion* is permitted, there can be no good *performance* of any duty; and it may be a *good* lesson for all the higher powers, not to be *too* clement, (which is the incouragement of Rebels) to most *obstinate*, Trayterous, and rebellious Subjects, who daring not to stirre under *rigid* Tyrants, doe kicke with their heeles against the most *pious* Princes: and therefore my soule wisheth (not out of any desire of bloud, but from my love to peace) that this rule were well observed, *Whosoever rebelleth against thy commandement, he shall be put to death.* *

2. To obey the Kings commandements. Josh. 1. 18.

* *Quia hi tales non obediunt mortali, ut pereant, nisi foret illud quod præcipitur contra præceptum Dei, vel insalutis dispendium Angel. summa verb. obedientia.*

3. The *wisest* of all Kings, but the King of Kings, saith, *The fears*

3. To give the King no just cause of anger,

Prov. 2. 2. *feare of a King is as the roaring of a Lion, who so provoketh him to anger sinneth against his owne soule.* And I beleeve that the taking up of *Armes* by the Subjects against their owne King, that never wronged them, and the seeking to take away his *life*, and the life of his most *faithfull* servants, is cause enough to *provoke* any King to anger, if he be not *Stoic*, too *Stoically* given, to abandon all *passions*: and that anger should be like the roaring of a Lion to them that would pull out the Lions eyes, and take away the Lions life.

The Rebels have given him cause enough to be provoked.

4. To speake reverently to the King, and of the King. Eccles. 8, 4.

4. The King of Heaven saith of these earthly Kings, *That where the word of a King is there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou?* And *Elihu* demands, *Is it fit to say to a King, thou art wicked; or to Princes, you are ungodly?* Truly if *Elihu* were now here, he might heare many *unfitter* things said to our King by his own people, and which is more strange, by some Preachers; for some of them have said, but most *maliciously* and more falsely, that he is a Papist, he is the Traytor, unworthy to raigne, unfit to live; good God! doe these men thinke God saith truth, *Where the word of a King is, there is power*, that is, to *blast* the conspiracies, and to *confound* the spirits of all Rebels, who shall one day finde it; because the wrath of God at *last* will be awaked against their *treachery*, and to revenge their *perjury* by inabling the King to accomplish the same upon all that resist him, as he promised to doe in the like case.

Jerem. 27. 8.

5. To pray for the King. Ezra 6. 10.

5. The *Israelites* being in captivity under the King of *Babylon*, were commanded to *pray* for the life of that Heathen King, and for the life of his sonnes. And Saint *Paul* exhorteth *Timothy* to make *supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thankes for Kings, and for all that are in authority*: and how doe our men *pray* for our King? in *many* Pulpits not at all, and in *some* places for his overthrow, for the *shortning* of his life, and the finishing of his dayes (*nullum sit in omine pendus*) and they give thankes indeed, not for his *good*, but for their owne *supposed* good successe against him; thus they *prevaricate* and pervert the words of the Apostle, to their owne destruction, when as the Prophet saith, *Their prayers shall be turned into sinne.*

1 Tim. 2. 1, 2.

Psal. 109. 6.

6. Christ

6. Christ commandeth us *to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*, that is, (as I shall more fully shew hereafter) your *inward* duties of honour, *love*, reverence, and the like; and your *outward* debts, *toll*, tribute, custome &c. and the Rebels render *none* unto him, but take *all* from him, and returne his Armes to his destruction. 6. To render all his dues unto him.

I might produce many other *places* and *precepts* of Holy Scripture to inforce this duty to *honour* the King; but what will suffice him, *cui Roma parum est*; if they beleeve not *Moses*, neither will they beleeve if *one should arise from the dead*; and if these things cannot *move* them, then certainly all the world cannot *remove* them from their wickednesse. Yet Luke 16. 31.

3. *Quia exempla movent plus quàm præcepta docent*; you shall finde this doctrine *practised* by the perpetuall demeanour of all Nations. For 3. All Kings should be honoured by the example of all Nations.

1. If you looke upon the children of *Israel* in the Land of *Egypt*, it cannot be denyed but *Pharoah* was a wicked King, and exercised great *cruelty*, and exceeding *tyranny* against Gods people; yet *Moses* did not incite the *Israelites* to take armes against him, though they were more in *number*, being *six hundred thousand* men, and abler for *strength* to make their party good then *Pharoah* was, as the King himselfe confesseth; but they contained themselves within the *bounds* of their obedience, and waited Gods leisure for their deliverance; because they knew their *patient* suffering would more manifest their owne *piety*, and aggravate King *Pharaohs* obstinacie, and especially magnifie Gods *glory*, then their undutifull rebelling could any wayes illustrate the least of these. 1. The *Israelites*. 1. In *Egypt*. Exod 12. 37. Exod. 1. 9.

2. *Davids* demeanour towards *Saul* is most memorable, for though (as one saith) King *Saul* discovered in *part* the described manner of such a King, as *Samuel* had fore-shewed; yet *David* and all his followers *performed* and observed the prescribed conditions, that are approved by God in true Subjects: never *resisting*, never rebelling against his King, though his King most *unjustly* persecuted him. *Samuel* also when he had pronounced *Sauls* rejection, yet did he never incite the people to Rebellion, but wept and prayed for him, and discharged all 2. Under *Saul*. The loyall Subjects beliefe, p. 55. 1. Sam. 15.

other duties, which formerly he had shewed to be due unto
3. Under *Ahab.* him; and *Elias*, that had as good *repute* with the people, and could as easily have stirred up sedition, as any of the *seditious* Preachers of this time; yet did he never perswade the Subjects to withstand the *illegall* commands of a most wicked
1. Reg 21. 25. King, that as the Scripture testifieth, *had sold himselfe to worke wickednesse*, and became the more *exceedingly* sinfull by the provocation of *Jezabell* his most wicked wife, and harlot; but he honoured his *Soveraignty*, and feared his *Majestie*, when he fled away from his *cruelty*.

Two examples of the whole Nation under Heathen kings. And because these are but *particular* presidents, I will name you two *observable* examples of the *whole* Nation.

1. Under *Artaxerxes.* Ezra 1. 3, &c. 1. When *Cyrus* made a Decree, and his Decree (according to the Lawes of the *Medes* and *Persians*) should be unalterable, that the Temple of *Jerusalem* should be re-edified, and the adversaries of the *Jewes* obtained a Letter from *Artaxerxes* to prohibit them, the people of God submitting themselves to the personall command of the King, contrary to that *unalterable* Law of *Cyrus*, pleaded neither the *goodnesse* of the worke, nor the *justnesse* of the cause, but yeilded to the Kings *will*, and ceased from their worke, untill they obtained a new Licence in the second yeare of King *Darius*: and if it be objected that they built the Temple in *despite* of those that hindered them, with their *sword* in one hand, and a *trowell* in the other: it is *rightly* answered, that having the Kings leave to build it, they might *justly* resist their enemies, that did therein, not onely shew their malice unto *them*, but also resisted the will of the *King*.

2. Under *Ahasuerus.* Hester 3. 10. 2. When *Ahasuerus*, to satisfie the *unjust* desire of his *proud* favorite, had wickedly decreed, and most tyrannically destined all the Nation of the *Jewes* to a sudden death; yet this *dutifull* people did not *undutifully* rebell, and plead the King *was seduced by evill counsell*; and misguided by proud *Haman*, therefore nature teaching them, *vim vi pellere*, to stand upon their owne *defence*, they would not submit their necks to his *unjust* Decree; but, being versed in Gods *Lawes*, and unacquainted with these *new* devices, they returne to God, and betake

betake themselves to their *prayers*, untill God had put it into the Kings *heart* to grant them *leave* to defend themselves, and to sheath their swords in the bowels of their adversaries; which is a most *memorable* example of most *dutifull* unresisting Subjects: an example of such *piety*, as would make our Land *happy*, if our *zealous* generation were but acquainted with the like Religion. Hester 8. 11.

But here I know what our *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, and *Puritane* will say, that I build Castles in the *aire*, and lay downe my frame without *foundation*; because all Kings are not *such* as the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah* were, as the Kings that God gave unto the *Jewes*, and prescribed *speciall* Lawes, both for the Kings to *governe*, and the people to *obey* them; but all other Nations have their owne *different* and severall Lawes and Constitutions, according to which Lawes their Kings are *tyed* to rule, and the Subjects *bound* to obey, and no otherwise. The author of the Treatise of Monarchie, p. 33.

I answer, that indeed it is granted there are *severall* constitutions of Royalties in severall Nations, and there may be *Regna Laconica*, conditionall and provisionall Kingdomes, wherein perhaps upon a *reall* breach of some *expresse* conditions, some Magistrates like the *Ephori*, may pronounce a *forfeiture*, aswell in the *successive* as in the elective Kingdomes; because (as one saith) succession is not a *new* title to more right, but a legall *continuance* of what was first gotten: which I can no wayes yeild unto, if you meane it of any *Soveraigne* King, (because the *name* of a King doth not alwayes denotate the Soveraigne power, as the Kings of *Lacedamon* though so called, yet had no *regall* authority; and the *Dictator* for the time being, and the *Emperours* afterwards had an *absolute* power, though not the name of Kings) for I say, that *such* a government is not properly a *regall* government, ordained by God, but either an *Aristocraticall* or *Democraticall* government instituted by the people, though *approved* by God for the welfare of the Common-wealth; but as the *Israelites* desired a King to judge them *like all the Nations*, that is, such a King as *Aristotle* describeth, such as the Nations had, intrusted with an *absolute* and full regall power, as *Sigonius* sheweth; so the *Henricus Stephan. in libello de hac re contendit in omnes reipubl. debere leges Hebraeorum, tanquam ab ipso Deo profectas, & per consequens omnium optimas reduci.* 1. Sam. 8. 4. 20.

Kings of the Nations, if they be not like the *Spartan* Kings, were and are like the Kings of *Israel*, both in respect of their *ordination* from God, by whom *all Kings*, as well of *other* Nations as of *Israel*, *doe raigne*, and of their *full* power and inviolable authority over the people; which have no more *dispensation* to resist their Kings, then the *Iewes* had to resist theirs; And therefore *Valentinian*, though an *elected* Emperour, yet when he was requested by his Electors to admit of an *associate*, answered, *it was in your power to chuse me to be an Emperour; but now, after you have chosen me, what you require is in my power, not in you; Vobis tanquam subditis competit parere, mihi verò quæ facienda sunt cogitare*, it becomes you to obey, as Subjects, and I am to consider what is fittest to be done.

Sozom. histor. l. 6. c. 6. Niceph. hist. l. 12, c. 1.

And when the wife takes an husband, there is a compact, agreement, and a solemne vow past in the presence of God, that he shall *love*, *cherish*, and *maintaine* her; yet if he *breakes* this vow, and neglects both to *love* and to *cherish* her, she cannot *renounce* him, she must not *forsake* him, she may not *follow* after another; and there is a *greater* marriage betwixt the *King* and his people: therefore though as a wife they might have power to *chuse* him, and in their choice to tye him to some *conditions*, yet though he breakes them, they have no more power to *abdicate* their King, then the wife hath to *renounce* her husband; nor so much, because she may *complaine* and call her husband before a *competent* Judge, and produce *witnesses* against him; whereas there can be no *Iudge* betwixt the *King* and his *people*, but onely God; and no *witnesses* can be found on earth; because it is against all *lawes*, and against all *reason*, that they which *rise* against their King, should be both the *witnesses* against him, and the *Iudges* to condemne him: or, were it so, that all *other* Kings have not the like constitution which the Scripture setteth downe for the Kings of *Israel*; yet I say that, excepting some circumstantiall Ceremonies, in all *real* points, the Lawes of our Land are (so farre as men could make them) in all things agreeable to the Scriptures in the constituting of our Kings, according to the livelyest patterne of the Kings of *Israel*; as it is well observed by the Author of the

The wife may not forsake her husband, though hee break his vow, and neglect his duty.

An Appeale to thy conscience, pag. 30.

Appeale

Appeale to thy conscience, in these 4 speciall respects.

1. In his *Right* to the Crowne.
2. In his *Power* and Authority.
3. In his *Charge* and Duty.
4. In the rendering of his *Account*.

} For

Our kings of the like Institution to the kings of *Israel*.

1. As the Kings of *Israel* were *hereditary* by succession, and not *elective*, unlesse there were an *extraordinary* and divine designation, as in *David*, *Salomon*, *Iehu*: so doe the Kings of *England* obtaine their Kingdomes by *birth*, or hereditary succession, as it appeareth,

1. Respect.

Kings of *England* are kings by birth. Proved.

1. By the *Oath* of Allegeance, used in every Leete, that you shall be true and faithfull to our Soveraigne Lord King *Charles*, and to his *Heires*.

1. Reason.

2. Because we owe our legeance to the King in his *naturall* capacity, that is, as he is *Charles* the Sonne and Heire apparent of King *Iames*; when as homage cannot be done to any King in his *politique* capacity, the body of the King being invisible in that sense.

2. Reason.

Coke, l. 7. *Calvins* case.

3. Because in that case it is expresly affirmed, that *the King holds the Kingdome of* England *by birth-right, inherent by descent from the blood-royall*; therefore to shew how *inseperable* this right is from the next in bloud: *Hen.* 4. though he was of the *blood-royall*, being first cozen unto the King, and had the Crowne resigned unto him by *Rich.* 2^d, and confirmed unto him by *Act* of Parliament; yet upon his death-bed, confessed he had no *right* thereunto, as *Speed* writeth.

3. Reason.

Speed, l. 9. c. 16.

4. Because it was determined by all the *Judges*, at the Arraignment of *Watson* and *Clerke*, that *immediately by descent his Majestie was compleatly and absolutely King, without the Ceremony of Coronation, which was but a royall ornament, and outward solemnization of the descent*. And it is illustrated by *Hen.* 6. that was not *crowned* till the ninth yeare of his reigne; and yet divers were attainted of High *Treason* before that time, which could not have beene done, had he not beene King. And we know that upon the *death* of any of our Kings, his Successor is *immediately* proclaimed King; to shew that he hath his Kingdome by *descent*, and not by the *people* at his Coronation,

4. Reason. 1. *Jacobi.*

Speed, l. 9. c. 16.

The right heire to the Kingdome is King before he is crowned.

Why the peoples consent is asked.

whose consent is then *asked*, not because they have any power to *deny* their consent, or *refuse* him for their King; but that the King having their assent, may with greater *security* and confidence rely upon their loyalty.

2. Respect.

2. As the Kings of *Israel* had *full* power and authority to make *warre* and conclude *peace*, to call the *greatest* Assemblies, as *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*, *Iehosaphat*, and the rest of the Kings did; to *place* and displace the greatest Officers of State; as *Solomon* placed *Abiathar* in *Sadoc's* roome, and *Iehosaphat* appointed *Amariah* and *Zebadiah* rulers of the greatest affaires: and had all the *Militia* of the Kingdome in their hands; so the Kings of *England* have the like; for,

2. Chron 19. 11

The absolute authority of the Kings of *England*.

Coke 7. rep. fol 25. 6. Polyd. Virgil. lib. 11. Speed. Stow, &c.

1. He onely can *lawfully* proclaime *warre*, as I shewed before; and he *onely* can conclude *peace*.

2. There is no *Assembly* that can *lawfully* meet but by his Authority; and as the *Parliament* was first devised and instituted by the King, as all our Historians write in the life of *Hen.* 1. so they cannot *meet* but by the Kings Writ.

3. All *Lawes*, Customes, and Franchises are granted and confirmed unto the people by the King. *Rot. Claus.* 1. *R.* 2: *n.* 44.

Smith de repub. Angl. l. 2. *c.* 4. *& c.* 5.

4. All the *Officers* of the Realme, whether *Spirituall* or *Temporall*, are chosen and established by him; as the *highest* immediately by himselfe, and the *inferiour* by an authority derived from him.

The absurdities of them that deny the *Militia* to the King.

5. He hath the *sole* power of ordering and disposing all the Castles, Forts, and strong Holds; and all the Ports, Havens, and all other parts of the *Militia* of this Kingdome: or otherwise it would follow, that the King had power to *proclaime* warre, but not to be able to *maintaine* it; and that he is bound to *defend* his Subjects, but is denied the *meanes* to protect them; which is such an absurdity, as cannot be answered by all the House of *Commons*.

6. The Kings of *Israel* were unto their people their honour, their Soveraignes, their life, and the very *breath of their nostrils*, as themselves acknowledge; and so the Kings of *England* are the life, the head, and the authority of all things that

be

be done in the Realme of *England*; *supremam potestatem & merum imperium apud nos habentes, nec in Imperii clientelâ sunt, nec investituram ab alio accipientes, nec præter Deum superiorem agnoscentes*; and their Subjects are bound by *oath* to maintaine the Kings Soveraignty. *in all causes, and over all persons, as well Ecclesiasticall as Civill*; and that not onely as they are *singularly* considered, but over all *collectively* represented in the body politique; for by *sundry*, divers, old authentique Histories and Chronicles, it is *manifestly* declared and expressed, that this Realme of *England* is an *Empire*, and so hath beene accepted in the world, governed by *one* supreame Head and King, having the dignity and *royall* estate of the Imperiall Crowne of the same; unto whom a *body politique*, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in termes and by names of *spirituality* and *temporalty*, have beene bounden and owen to beare next to God a *naturall* and humble obedience.

Smith *de Repub. l.* 2. Cambden Britan. p. 132. In the Preface to 2 Stat. 24. Hen. 8. c. 12.

3. As the *duty* of *every* one of the Kings of *Israel* was to be *Custos utriusque tabulæ*, to keepe the Law of God, and to have a *speciall* care of his Religion; and then to doe *justice* and judgement, according to the Law of *nature*, and to observe all the *judiciall* Lawes of that Kingdome; so are the Kings of *England* obliged to discharge the same duties.

3 Respects.

1. To have the *chiefest* care to defend the *faith* of Christ, and to preserve the *honour* of Gods *Church*, as I shewed before.

The duty of the Kings of England.

2. To maintaine *common* right, according to the rules and dictates of nature. And

3. To see the *particular* Lawes and Statutes of his owne Kingdome well observed amongst his people.

To all which the King is *bound*, not onely *virtute officii*, in respect of his office, but also *vinculo juramenti*, in respect of his oath, which enjoyneth him to guide his actions, not according to the *desires* of an unbridled will, but according to the *tyes* of these established Lawes; neither doe our Divines give any further liberty to any King, but if he failes in these he doth offend in his duty.

4. As the Kings of *Israel* were *accountable* for their actions unto

4 Respect.

unto none, but onely unto God, and therefore King *David* after he had committed both *murder* and *adultery*, saith unto God, *Tibi soli peccavi*; as if he had said, none can call me to any *account* for what I have done but thou alone; and we never read that either the people *did* call, or that the Prophets *perswaded* them to call *any* of their most *idolatrous*, tyrannicall, or wicked Kings to any account for their idolatrie, tyrannie, or wickednesse; even so the Kings of *England* are accountable to none but to God.

Psal. 51. 4.

The kings of *England* accountable for their actions onely to God.

1. Reason. *Smith de repub. l. 1. c. 9.*

1. Because they have their Crowne *immediately* from God, who *first* gave it to the *Conquerour* through his *sword*, and since to the succeeding Kings, by the *ordinary* meanes of *hereditary* succession.

2. Reason.

2. Because the *oath* which he takes at his Coronation binds him *onely* before God, who alone can both *judge* him, and *punish* him if he forgets it.

3. Reason.

3. Because there is neither *condition*, promise, or limitation, either in *that* Oath, or in any *other* Covenant or compact that the King makes with the people, either *at* his Coronation, or at any *other* time, that he should be *accomptable*, or that they should *question* and censure him for *any* thing that he should doe.

4. Reason.

4. Because the *testimony* of many famous Lawyers justifie the same truth; for *Bracton* saith, if the King refuse to do what is just, *satis erit ei ad penam quòd Dominum expectet ulterem*, the Lord will be his avenger, which will be punishment enough for him; but of the Kings *grants* and actions, *nec privata persona, nec justiciarii debent disputare*. And *Walsingham* maketh mention of a Letter written from the Parliament to the Bishop of *Rome*, wherein they say, that *eorum & directum Dominium à prima institutione regni Angliæ ad Regem pertinuit*, the certaine and *direct* Dominion of this Kingdome from the very first institution thereof hath belonged unto the King, who by reason of the *arbitrary* or free preeminence of the royall dignity and *custome* observed in all ages, ought not to answer before any Judge, either *Ecclesiasticall* or *Secular*. *Ergo* neither before the Pope, nor Parliament, nor Presbyterie.

Bracton fol 34. a. b. apud Lincol anno 1301.

Ex liberâ præeminentiâ.

5. Because

5. Because the *constant* custome and practice of this Kingdome was ever such, that no *Parliament* at any time sought to censure their King, and either to *depose* him, or to punish him for any of all his actions; save onely those that were called in the *troublesome* and irregular times of our *unfortunate* Princes, and were swayed by those that were the *heads* of the most powerfull Faction, to conclude most *horrid* and unjustifiable Acts, to the very *shame* of their judiciall authorities; as those *factious* Parliaments in the times of *Hen.* 3. King *John*, *Rich.* 2. and *Hen.* 4. and others, whose *acts* in the judgement of all good authors, are not to be drawne into *examples*, when as they deposed their King for those *pretended* faults, whereof not the *worst* of them but is *fairely* answered, and all 33 of them proved to be *no way* sufficient to *depose* him, by that excellent Civilian *Henningus Arnisæus*.

5. Reason.

No legitimate and just Parliament did ever question the Kings of *England* for their actions.

Henningus c. 4. p. 93.

And therefore seeing the *institution* of our Kings is not onely by *Gods* Law, but also by our *owne* Lawes, Customes, and practice, thus agreeable to the *Scripture* Kings, they ought to be as *sacred* and as inviolable to us, as the Kings of *Israel* were to the *Jewes*; and as *reverently* honoured and obeyed by us, as both the Apostles, Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, advise us to honour and obey the King.

CHAP. V.

Sheweth, how the Heathens honoured their Kings; how Christ exhibited all due honour unto Heathen and wicked Kings; how he carried himselfe before Pilate; *and how all the good Primitive Christians behaved themselves towards their Heathen persecuting Emperours.*

2. The *Heathens.*

2. WE finde that not onely the *Jewes*, that were the people of God, a *royall Priesthood*, that had the *Oracles* of God, and therefore no wonder that they were so *conformable* in their obedience to the will of God; but the *Gentiles* also that knew not *God*, knew *this* by the light of nature, that they

Passa quidem olim aliquid caelestes atque divinum in regibus inesse statuebant. Oser. de Justit. regis, l. 4. p. 106.

they were bound to yeild all *honour* unto their Kings. For *Quintus Curtius* tells us, that the *Persians* had such a *divine* estimation and love unto their King, that *Alexander* could not perswade them either for *feare* or *reward*, to tell him where their King was gone, or to *reveale* any of his intentions, or to *doe* any other thing that might any wayes prejudice the *life*, or the *affaires* of their King. And *Justin* tells us, that the *Sicilians* did beare so *great* a respect unto the last Will and Testament of *Anaxilaus* their deceased King, that they disdained not to obey a *slave*, whom he had appointed *Regent*, during the minority of his sonne. And *Herodotus* saith, that when *Xerxes* fled from *Greece* in a vessell that was so *full* of men of warre, that it was *impossible* for him to be saved, without casting some part of them into the Sea; he said unto them, O ye men of *Persia*, let *some* among you testifie that he hath care of his *King*, whose *safety* is in your disposition; then the *Nobility* which accompanied him, having *adored* him, did cast themselves into the Sea, till the *vessell* was unburthened, and the *King* preserved. And I feare these *Pagans* will rise in judgement to condemne our *Nobility*, that seeke the destruction of their King. And the *Massagetians* had such a reverent opinion of their *King*, that being foyled in warre, before they returned *againe* to the battaile they fetched their *cradle*, wherein their *young King* lay, and set him in the midst of the Campe, as supposing that their *former* misfortune proceeded, because they neglected to take with them the good *augure* of their *Kings* presence. And *Boemus Aubanus* speaking of the *Egyptian* Kings, saith, that they have so much good will and love from all men, *ut non solùm sacerdotibus, sed etiam singulis Ægyptiis major regis quàm uxorum filiorumque, aut aliorum principum salutis inesset cura*; that not onely the *Priests*, but also all the *Egyptians* have a *greater* care of the safety of their *King*, then of their wives or children, or any other Princes of the Land. And the same Author describing the *manner* how the *Tartars* create their King, saith, the Princes, Dukes, Barons, and all the people meet, then they place him that is to be their King on a Throne of *gold*, and prostrating themselves upon the ground, they

Herodot. l. 8.

What great respect men in former times did beare unto their kings.

Justin. l. 7.

Aubanus de Africa, l. 1. p. 39.

Reges divinis, Iove genitos, a Iove unctos, Homerus & Hesiodus appellarunt.

they cry with an *unanimous* and loud voyce, *Regnum, volumus & præcipimus ut dominetis nobis*, We entreat you and beseech you to raigne over us; and he answereth, if you would have this of me, it is necessary that you should be obedient to doe whatsoever I shall command you; when I *call* you, to come; whethersoever I shall *send* you, to goe; *whomsoever* I shall command you to kill, to do it *immediately* without feare; and to commit the whole Kingdome into my hands: then they doe all answer, we are *willing* to doe all this. And then he saith againe, therefore from hence-forth, *vris mei sermo gladius meus erit*, the word of my mouth shall be the sword of my power: then all the people doe applaud him. And a little after he saith, *in ejus manibus sua potestate omnia sunt*, all things are in his hands and power: no man dare say, this is mine, or that is his: no one man may dwell in any part of the Land, but in that which is assigned unto him by the King. *Nemini licet imperatoris verba mutare, nemini late ab illo sententia qualicunque modo contraire*; and no man dares alter the Kings words, nor gain-say his sentence whatsoever it is. And we reade that the *Turke* is as *absolute* in his Dominions, and as *readily* obeyed in his commands as the *Tartar*; and yet these Subjects learne this duty of *honour* and obedience unto their Kings onely by the light of *nature*; and if *grace* and the Gospell hath made us *free* from this *slavish* subjection, should we not be *thankefull* unto our God, and be contented with that *liberty* which he hath given us; but because we have so much, we will have more? * and seeing God hath delivered us from the *rage* of tyrannous Kings, we will free our selves from *all government*, and disobey the commands of the most *clement* Princes? We may remember the fable of the *Frogs*, when they prayed unto *Jupiter* to have a King, and what was the successe thereof; *——nimia dat qui justa negat*: and he that *undutifully* denyeth his due obedience, may *unwillingly* be forced to undue subjection; as the *Israelites*, not contented with just *Samuel*, shall be put under an unjust *Saul*. So God may *justly* deale with us for our *injustice* towards our King, to deny that honour unto him which *God* commanded to be given, and the very

Subsum lib. p. 141.

* And as the Poet saith, *Like Subjects armd, the more their Princes crave, They this advantage take the more to crave.* Lucan. lib. 1.

very *Heathens* have not detained from their Kings. But,

3. Christians. 3. Left with Saint *Paul* we should be blamed (though unjustly) for bringing the *uncircumcised* Greeks into the Temple, for alleadging the *disorderly* practice of *blinde* Heathens to be a patterne for these *zealous* Christians; (which thing, notwithstanding our Saviour did, when he preferred *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* before *Capernaum*; yea *Tyrus* and *Sydon* before *Corazin* and *Bethsaida*:) we cannot want the example of *good* Christians, and a multitude of most *holy* Martyrs, to shame the practice of these prophane hypocrites. For

Matth. 11. 21.

1. Christ himselfe exhibited all due honour unto wicked Kings.

1. Christ himselfe, *the author and the finisher of our faith*, never left any *plainer* marke of his religion, then to propagate the same by *patience*; as on the other side, there cannot be a more *suspicious* signe of a *false* religion, then to inlarge it and protect it by *violence*: and therefore when the Inhabitants of a certaine *Samaritane* village *refused* to admit Christ and his Disciples into their Towne, and so *renounced* him and his religion; *James* and *John*, two principall members of his Court, remembring what *Elias* did in the like case, asked if they should not command fire to consume them, as *Elias* did? that is, if they should not use their *best* endeavours, and be confident of Gods assistance, to *destroy* those prophane *rejecters* of Christ, and *refusers* of his religion? Our Saviour, though ever *meeke*, yet now *moved* at this their *unchristian* thought, rebuked them with that sharpnesse, as he did Saint *Peter*, when he committed the like errour, and said, *You know not what manner of spirit you are of*: as if he had said, you understand not the *difference* betwixt the profession of *Elias*, and my religion; for he was *such* a zelot, that *jure zelatorum*, and the *extraordinary* instinct of Gods Spirit that was in him, might at that time (when the *Jewes* were governed by a Θεοκρατία, as *Josephus* saith, and God presiding as it were their King amongst them, and interposing rules by his *Oracles*, and other *particular* directions, that should oblige and warrant them, as well as their standing Law) doe this or the like act, though not authorized by any *ordinary* Law; and those actions *then* performed, are as *just*, and as legall as any other that proceed *legally* from the author-

Luke 9. 54.

1. Reg. 18. 2. Reg. 1.

Matth. 16. 23.

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rity of the *supreame* Magistrate; but that *dispensation* of the Prophets is now ended, and the *profession* of my Disciples must be farre otherwise; for I doe not authorize my servants to pretend to the spirit of *Elias*, or to doe as *Phinees* and others, *extraordinary* men among the *Jewes*, have done; but they must learne of me *to be meeke and lowly in heart*, and rather to *suffer* wrong of others, then to *offer* the least injury unto their *meanest* neighbour, much lesse to resist their *supreame* Magistrate. Matth. 11. 29.

And when Christ was apprehended, not by any *legall* power of the *supreme* Magistrate, but by the *rude* servants of the High Priests; and Saint *Peter*, as *zealous* for his Master as our *Zealots* are for their Religion, drew his sword and smote off *Malchus* eare, a most *Justifiable* and commendable act, a man would thinke, to defend *Christ*, and in him all *Christianity*; our Saviour bids him *put up his sword*, and he addes a *reason* most considerable to all Christians; for *all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword*: that is, all they that without *lawfull* authority take the sword, to defend *me* and my *religion* with the sword, they deserve to *suffer* by the sword; and it is very well observed by the Author, of *resisting the lawfull Magistrate upon colour of religion*, that the two *parallel* places quoted in the margent of our Bibles, are very pertinent to this purpose; for *that* Law concerning the *effusion* of bloud, being not any prohibition to the *legall* cutting off of Malefactors, is notwithstanding urged against S. *Peter*, to shew that his shedding of bloud in defence of *religion* was altogether *illegall*, and prohibited by that Law: and the *other* place (where *immediately* after these words, *He that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword*; the Holy Ghost adjoyneth, *here is the patience and the faith of the Saints*:) doth most clearely shew, that all *forcible* resistance is inconsistent with the *religion* of the Saints; because their *faith* must be ever accompanied with their *patience*; and it is contrary to their *profession* to save themselves by any *violent* opposition of them that have the *lawfull* authority. How Christ carried himselfe before *Pilate* and the High-Priests. Pag. 6. Gen. 9. 6. Revel. 13. 10.

But that example which is *mis-alledged*, is the suffering of Christ under *Pontius Pilate*; for the whole course of their proceeding against Christ was *illegall*, when as no Law can be found

found to *justifie* the delivering up of an *innocent* person to the will of his *accusers*; as *Pilate* did our Saviour Christ; and our Saviour had *ability* and strength enough to have defended himselfe; for he might have commanded *more than* 12 *Legions of Angels to assist him*; yet our Saviour acknowledging the *legall* power of *Pilate* to proceed against him, *that it was given him from above*, makes no resistance either to maintaine his *doctrine* or to preserve his *life*, but in all things submits himselfe to their *illegall* proceedings, and gives unto the Magistrates all the *honour* that was due unto their places: and you know the rule, *Omnis Christi actio debet esse nostra instructio*, we ought to follow his example.

John 19. 16.

John 19. 11.

And therefore not onely Christ, but also all good *Christians* have *imitated* him in this point; for the Apostles *prayed* for their persecuting Tyrants, exhorted all their followers to *honour* even the *Pagan* Kings, and most sharply reproved all that *spake* evill of authority, much more would they say against them, that *committ* evill, and proceed in all *wickedness* against authority. And *Tertullian* speaking of the behaviour of the Primitive Christians towards the *Heathen* Emperours, and their *cruell* persecutors, saith, that because they knew them to be *appointed* by God, they did *love* and reverence them, and wish them safe with all the *Romane* Empire; yea they *honoured* the Emperour, and worshipped him as a man *second* from God, *& solo Deo minorem*, and inferiour *only* unto God; and in his *Apologetico* he saith, *Deus est solus in cujus solius potestate sunt reges, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, super omnes homines unto omnes Deos*; God alone is he by whose power Kings are *preferred*, which are *second* from him, *first* after him, *above* all men, and *before* all gods; that is, all other Magistrates that the Scripture calleth Gods. So *Justin Martyr*, *Athenagoras Fellix*, *Nazianzen*, (which also wrote against the vices of *Julian*) S. *Augustine*, and others of the prime Fathers of the Church have set downe, how the *Primitive* Christians and *godly* Martyrs, that suffered *all kinds* of most *barbarous* cruelty at the hands of their *Heathen* Magistrates, did notwithstanding *pray* for them and *honour* them, and neither *derogated* from their

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authority, nor any wayes *resisted* their insolencie. And *Iohannes Beda*, Advocate in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, saith, that the *Protestants* of *France* in the midst of torments have *blessed* their King, by whom they were so *severely* intreated; and in the midst of *fires* and *massacres* have published their confession in these words: *For this cause he* (that is God) *put the sword into the Magistrates hand, that he may represse the sinnes committed, not onely against the second table of Gods Commandements, but also against the first: We must therefore for his sake not onely endure that Superiours rule over us, but also honour and esteeme of them with all reverence, holding them for his Lieutenants and Officers, to whom he hath given in commission to execute a Lawfull and a holy function: We therefore hold that we must obey their Lawes and Statutes, pay Tributes, Impostes, and other duties, and beare the yoke of subjection with a good and free will, although they were Infidels.* Beda p. 15. Artic. 39. & 40. confess. reform. Gal. recles.

Ob. But against this *patience* of the Saints, and the *wisedome* of these good Christians, it is objected by *Goodwin* and others of his Sect, that either they wanted *strength* to resist, or wanted *knowledge* of their strength, or of their privilledge and power, which God granted them to *defend* themselves and their religion; or were *over-much* transported with an *ambitious* desire of Martyrdome, or by some other *misguiding* spirit were utterly mis-led to an *unnecessary* patience; and therefore we having strength *enough*, as we conceive, to subdue the *King* and all his strength, and being *wiser* in our generation then all the *generation* of those fathers, as being guided by a more *discerning* spirit, we have no reason to pray for *patience*, but rather to render *vengeance*, both to the King and to all his adherents. *Ob.*

Sol. This *unchristian* censure, and this *false* imputation laid upon these *holy* Fathers, by these *stubborne* Rebels, and *proud* Enthusiasts, are so *mildly* and so *learnedly* answered by the Author *of resisting the lawfull Magistrate upon colour of religion*, that more need not be laid to stop the mouthes of all *ignorant* gain-sayers. *Sol.* Where they are fully answered.

Therefore seeing that by the *institution* of Kings, by the *pre-*

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cept of God, and by the *practice* of all *wise* men and *good* Christians, *Heathen* Kings and *wicked* Tyrants are to be *loved*, honoured, and obeyed; it is a most *hateful* thing to God and man, to see men *professing* themselves Christians, (but are indeed like those in the *Revel.* *which say they are Jewes and are not*) Revel. 2 9. in stead of *honouring* transcendently to *hate*, and most violently to *persecute* their owne most *Christian* and most gracious King; a sinne so *infinitely* sinfull, that I doe not wonder to see the *greatnesse* of Gods anger to powre *all* the plagues that we suffer upon this Nation; but I doe rather admire and adore his wonted *clemency* and patience, that he hath not all this while either sent forth his fire and lightning from Heaven, as he did upon *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, Gen. 19. 24. to *consume* them, or cause the earth to *swallow* them, as it did *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, Numb. 16. 31. for this their *rebellion* against their King; or that he hath not showed downe farre *greater* plagues, and more miserable calamities then hitherto we have suffered; because we have suffered these *Antichristian* Rebels to proceed so farre, and have with the *Merozites* Judges 5. 23. neglected all this while to adde our strength to assist the Lords Annointed, to *reduce* his seduced Subjects to their obedience, and to impose *condigne* punishments upon the seducers and the ringleaders of this unnaturall and most horrible Rebellion.

CHAP. VI.

Sheweth the two chiefest duties of all Christian Kings; to whom the charge and preservation of Religion is committed; three severall opinions; the strange speeches of the Disciplinarians against Kings are shewed; and Vireus *his scandalous reasons are answered; the double service of all Christian Kings, and how the Heathen Kings and Emperours had the charge of Religion.*

2. Christian Kings are to have double honour in respect of their double duty:

2. AS *all* Kings are to be *honoured* in the fore-said respects, so all *Christian* Kings are to have a *double* honour, in respect

respect of the double *charge* and duty that is laid upon them: As

1. To preserve *true religion*, and to defend the *faith* of Christ, against all Atheists, Hereticks, Schismaticks, and all other adversaries of the Gospell, within their Territories and Dominions. 1. Duties

2. To preserve their *Subjects* from all *forraigne* adversaries, and to prevent *civill* dissentions, to governe them according to the rules of *justice* and equity, which all *other* Kings are bound to doe; but neither *did*, nor *can* doe it so *fully* and so faithfully as the *Christian* Kings; because no Law, either *Solons*, *Lycurgus*, *Pompilius*, or any other *Greeke* or *Latine*; nor any *Politique*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Machiavil*, or whom you will, old or new, can so *perfectly* set downe, and so fairely declare, *quid justum*, & *quid honestum*, as the Law of Christ hath done; and therefore, seeing *omnis honos præsupponit onus*, the honour is but the *reward* of labour, and that *this* labour or duty of Kings to maintaine *true religion*, well performed, and faithfully discharged, brings *most* glory unto God, and the *greatest* honour to all Kings; when it is more to be, with *Constantine*, a nursing father to Gods Church, then it is to be with *Alexander* the sole Monarch of the known world; I will first treat of their *charge* and care, and the power that God hath given them to defend the *faith*, and to preserve *true religion*. And 2. Duties.

1. *Religion* (saith a learned Divine) without authority is no Religion; for as Saint *Augustine* saith, no *true* Religion can be received by any meanes without some *weighty* force of *authority*: therefore if that *Religion*, whereby thou hopest to be saved, hath no *authority* to ground it selfe upon; or if that *authority*, whereby thy *Religion* is setled, be *misplaced* in him that hath no *authority* at all, what hope of salvation remaining in that *Religion* canst thou conceive? but it is concluded on all sides, that the *right* authority of preserving *true* religion must reside in him, and proceed from him, by whose *supreme* power and government it is to be enacted and forced upon us: and therefore now the *question* is, and it is very much questioned, to whom the *supreme* government of our Religion ought 1. Care of Kings to preserve true Religion. *Aug. de utilitate credendi cap. 9.* To whom the charge of preserving religion is commited.

 rightly

found to *justifie* the delivering up of an *innocent* person to the will of his *accusers*, as *Pilate* did our Saviour Christ; and our Saviour had *ability* and strength enough to have defended himselfe; for he might have commanded *more then* 12 *Legions of Angels to assist him*; yet our Saviour acknowledging the *legall* power of *Pilate* to proceed against him, *that it was given him from above*, makes no resistance either to maintaine his *doctrine* or to preserve his *life*, but in all things submits himselfe to their *illegall* proceedings, and gives unto the Magistrates all the *honour* that was due unto their places: and you know the rule, *Omnis Christi actio debet esse nostra instructio*, we ought to follow his example.

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Revel. 2 9.

Gen. 19. 24.

Numb. 16. 31.

Judges 5. 23.

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respect of the double *charge* and duty that is laid upon them: As

1. To preserve *true religion*, and to defend the *faith* of Christ, against all Atheists, Hereticks, Schismaticks, and all other adversaries of the Gospell, within their Territories and Dominions. 1. Duties

2. To preserve their *Subjects* from all *forraigne* adversaries, and to prevent *civill* dissentions, to governe them according to the rules of *justice* and equity, which all *other* Kings are bound to doe; but neither *did*, nor *can* doe it so *fully* and so faithfully as the *Christian* Kings; because no Law, either *Solons*, *Lycurgus*, *Pompilius*, or any other *Greeke* or *Latine*; nor any *Politique*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Machiavil*, or whom you will, old or new, can so *perfectly* set downe, and so fairely declare, *quid justum*, & *quid honestum*, as the Law of Christ hath done; and therefore, seeing *omnis honos præsupponit onus*, the honour is but the *reward* of labour, and that *this* labour or duty of Kings to maintaine *true religion*, well performed, and faithfully discharged, brings *most* glory unto God, and the *greatest* honour to all Kings; when it is more to be, with *Constantine*, a nursing father to Gods Church, then it is to be with *Alexander* the sole Monarch of the known world; I will first treat of their *charge* and care, and the power that God hath given them to defend the *faith*, and to preserve *true religion*. And 2. Duties.

1. *Religion* (saith a learned Divine) without authority is no Religion; for as Saint *Augustine* saith, no *true* Religion can be received by any meanes without some *weighty* force of *authority*: therefore if that *Religion*, whereby thou hopest to be saved, hath no *authority* to ground it selfe upon; or if that *authority*, whereby thy *Religion* is setled, be *mis-placed* in him that hath no *authority* at all, what hope of salvation remaining in that *Religion* canst thou conceive? but it is concluded on all sides, that the *right* authority of preserving *true* religion must reside in him, and proceed from him, by whose *supreme* power and government it is to be enacted and forced upon us: and therefore now the *question* is, and it is very much questioned, to whom the *supreame* government of our Religion ought 1. Care of Kings to preserve true Religion. *Aug. de utilitate credendi cap. 9.* To whom the charge of preserving religion is commited.

 rightly

3 Opinions. *rightly* to be attributed; whereof I finde three severall resolutions.

1. *Papisticall*, which leaneth too much on the *right* hand.
2. *Anabaptisticall*, which bendeth twice as much on the *left* hand.
3. *Orthodoxall* of the Protestants, that ascribe the same to him, on whom God himselfe hath conferred it.

2. Opinion. 2. That the Church of *Rome* maketh the *Pope* solely to have the *supreme* government of our *Christian* Religion, is most apparent out of all their writings; and you may see what a large book our Countrey-man *Stapleton* wrote against Master *Horne* Bishop of *Winchester* to justifie the same. And *Saunders* to disprove the right of Kings, saith, *Fatemur personas Episcoporum, qui in toto orbe fuerunt, Romano Imperatori subjectas fuisse, quoniam Rex praest hominibus Christianis, verùm non quia sunt Christiani sed quia sunt homines, episcopis etiam ea ex parte rex praesset.* So Master *Harding* saith, that the office of a King in it selfe is all *one* every where, not onely among the *Christian* Princes, but also among the *Heathen*; so that a *Christian* King hath no more to doe in deciding *Church* matters, or medling with any point of *Religion* then a Heathen. And so *Feknham*, and all the brood of *Jesuites*, doe with all *violence* and virulencie labour to disprove the Princes *authority* and supremacy in *Ecclesiasticall* causes, and the points of our *Religion*, and to transferre the same *wholly* unto the Pope and his Cardinals. Neither doe I wonder so much, that the *Pope* having so *universally* gained, and so *long* continued this power, and retained this government from the *right* owners, should imploy all his *Hierarchie* to maintaine that *usurped* authority, which he held with so much *advantage* to his Episcopall See, (though with no small *prejudice* to the Church of Christ, when the Emperours being busied with *other* affaires, & leaving this care of religion and government of the Church to the *Pope*, the Pope to the *Bishops*, the Bishops to their *Suffragans*, and the Suffragans to the *Monkes*, whose authority being *little*, their knowledge *lesse*, and their honesty *least* of all, all things were ruled with great

Unde saepè objiciunt dictum Hosii ad Constantium: Tibi Deus imperium commisit, nobis quae sunt ecclesiastica concredidit. Sed haec intelliguntur de executione officij, non de gubernatione ecclesiae. Sicut ibi manifestum est, cum dicitur neque fas est nobis in terris imperium tenere, neque tibi thymiamatum & sacrorum potestatem habere. (i. e.) in praedicatione Evangelij, & administratione Sacramentorum & similibus.

greater corruption & *lesse* truth then they ought to be) so long as possibly he should be able to possesse it.

But at last, when the *light* of the Gospell shined, and *Christian* Princes had the *leisure* to looke, and the *heart* to take hold upon their *right*, the learned men (opposing themselves against the *Popes* usurped jurisdiction) have soundly proved the Soveraigne authority of Christian *Kings* in the government of the Church; that, not onely in *other* Kingdomes, but also here in *England*, this power was annexed by *divers* Lawes unto the interest of the Crowne, and the *lawfull* right of the King: and I am perswaded (saith that Reverend Archbishop *Bancroft*) had it not beene that *new* adversaries did arise, and opposed themselves in this matter, the *Papists* before this time had been *utterly* subdued; for the Devill seeing himselfe so like to lose the field, stirred up in the *bosome* of Reformation a flocke of *violent* and seditious men, that pretending a great deale of *hate* to Popery, have notwithstanding joyned themselves, like *Sampsons* Foxes, with the *worst* of Papists, in the *worst* and most pernicious Doctrines that ever Papist taught, to rob *Kings* of their *sacred* and divine right, and to deprive the *Church* of Christ of the truth of all those points, that doe most *specially* concerne her government and governours: and though in the *fury* of their *wilde* zeale they do no lesse *maliciously* then *falsly* cast upon the *soundest* Protestants the aspersion of Popery and Malignancie, yet I hope to make it *plaine* unto my reader, that themselves are the *Papists* indeed, or *worse* then Papists both to the Church and State: For

Survey of Discip. c. 22. p. 293

How the Devill raised instruments to hinder the reformation.

2. As the whole Colledge of *Cardinals*, and all the Schooles of the *Jesuites*, doe most *stiffely* defend this usurped authority of the *Pope*, which, as I said, may be with the *lesse* admiration, because of the *Princes* concession, and their owne *long* possession of it; so on the *other* side there are sprung up of late a certaine generation of *Vipers*, the brood of *Anabaptists* and *Brownists*, that doe most *violently* strive not to *detaine* what they have unjustly obtained, but a degree farre worse, to pull the *sword* out of their Prince his hand, and to place *authority*

2. Opinion. Of the *Anabaptists* and *Puritans*.

Where the *Puritans* place the authority to maintaine religion.

on them which have neither *right* to owne it, nor *discretion* to use it; and that is,

either { 1. A Consistory of *Presbyters*: or, 2. A Parliament of *Lay* men. } For

1. In the Presbyterie.

1. These *new* Adversaries of this Truth, that would most *impudently* take away from *Christian* Princes the *supreme* and immediate authority, under Christ, in all *Ecclesiasticall* Callings and Causes, will needs place the same in *themselves*, and a Consistorian company of their own Faction: a whole *Volume* would not contain their absurdities, falsities, and blasphemies that they have uttered about this point. I will *onely* give you a *taste* of what some of the *chiefe* of them have belched forth against the *Divine* Truth of God's Word and the sacred Majesty of Kings. Master *Calvin*, a man otherwise of *much* worth, and worthy to be honoured, yet in *this* point transported with his own *passion*, calleth those *Blasphemers*, that did call King *Henry* the Eighth the *Supreme* Head of this Church of *England*: and *Stapleton* saith, that he handled the King himselfe with such *villany* and with so *spitefull* words, as he never handled the *Pope* more spitefully; and all for this Title of *Supremacy* in Church causes: and in his 34. *Epist.* to *Myconius*, he termeth them *prophane* spirits and *mad* men, that perswaded the Magistrates of *Geneva*, not to deprive themselves of that *authority* which God had given them: *Viretus* is more *virulent*; for he resembleth them not to *mad* men, (as *Calvin* did) but to *white devils*, because they stand in defence of the Kings authority; and he saith, they are *false* Christians, though they cover themselves with the *cloak* of the Gospell, affirming that the putting of all *authority* and power into the *Civill* Magistrates hands, and making them Masters of the Church, is nothing else but the *changing* of the Popedome, from the *Spirituall* Pope into a *Temporall* Pope, who (as it is to be feared) will prove *worse* and more *tyrannous* than the *Spirituall* Pope, which he laboureth to confirme by these three reasons:

Calvin in admon. cap. 7.

Stapl. cont. Horn. l. 1. p. 22.

How *Viretus* would prove the temporall Pope (as he calleth the King) worse then the Spirituall Pope.

2. Reason.

1. Because the *Spirituall* Pope had not the *Sword* in his own hand, to punish men with death, but was fain to crave the

aid of the Secular power, which the *Temporal* Pope needs not do.

2. Because the old *Spirituall* Popes had *some* regard in their dealings of *Councels, Synods,* and ancient *Canons*; but the new *Secular* Popes will do what they list without respect of any *Ecclesiasticall* Order, be it right or wrong. 2. Reason.

3. Because the *Romish* Popes were most commonly very *learned*, but it happeneth oftentimes that the *Regall* Popes have neither *learning* nor *knowledge* in divine matters; and yet these shall be they that shall *command* Ministers and Preachers what they list; and to make this assertion good, he affirmeth that he saw in some places some *Christian* Princes, under the title of *Reformation*, to have in 10 or 20 yeares usurped *more* tyrannie over the Churches in their *Dominions*, then ever the *Pope* and his adherents did in 600 yeares. 3. Reason.

All which reasons are but meere *fopperies*, blowne up by the blacke Devill, to blast the *beauty* of this truth; for we speake not of the *abuse* of any Prince, to *justifie* the same against any one, but of his *right*, that cannot be the *cause* of any wrong; and it cannot be denyed but an *illiterate* Prince may prove a *singular* advancer of all learning, as Bishop *Wickham* was no *great* Scholler, yet was he a most *excellent* instrument to produce *abundance* of famous Clerks in this Church; and the King ruleth his Church by those *Lawes*, which through his royall authority are made with the advice of his *greatest* Divines, as hereafter I shall shew unto you: yet these *spurious* and specious pretexts may serve, like *clouds*, to hide the light from the eyes of the simple. So *Cartwright* also, that was our English *firebrand*, and his Disciples teach: as *Harding* had done before, that *Kings* and Princes doe hold their Kingdomes and Dominions under Christ, *as he is the Sonne of God onely, before all worlds, coequall with the father*; and not as he is *Mediator and Governour of the Church*: and therefore the *Christian* Kings have no more to doe with the *Church* government, then the *Heathen* Princes: for *Travers* saith, that the *Heathen* Princes being converted to the faith, receive no *more*, not any *further* increase of their power, whereby they may deale in *Church* causes, *Viretus* his scandalous reasons answered. *T. C. l. 2. p. 412.*

causes, then they had before; so the whole packe of the *Disciplinarians* are all of the same minde, and do hold that all Kings, aswell *Heathen* as *Christian*, receiving but one Commission and *equall* authority immediately from God, have no more to doe with *Church* causes, the *one* sort then the *other*. And I am ashamed to set downe the *rayling* and the scurrilous speeches of *Anthony Gilby* against *Hen.* 8. and of *Knox*, *Whittingham*, and others, against the truth of the Kings *lawfull* right and authority in all *Ecclesiasticall* causes. For, were it so, as *Cartwright*, *Travers*, and the rest of that crew doe avouch, that *Kings* by being *Christians* receive no more authority over Christ his Church, then they had before *; yet this will appeare most evident to all understanding men, that *all* Kings, aswell the *Heathens* as the *Christians*, are in the *first* place to see that their people do *religiously* observe the worship of that God which they adore: and therefore much more should *Christian* Princes have a care to preserve the religion of *Jesus Christ*.

Gilby in his admonition, *p.* 69 *Knox* in his exhortation to the Nobility of *Scotland*, *fol.* 77.

* Which is most false.

For it cannot be denyed, but that *all* Kings ought to *preserve* their *Kingdomes*; and all Kingdomes are *preserved* by the *same* meanes, by which they were first *established*; and they are *established* by obedience and good manners: neither shall you finde any thing that can beget *obedience* and good manners, but *Lawes* and *Religion*; and Religion doth *naturally* beget obedience unto the Lawes; therefore most of those Kings that gave Lawes were originally Priests; and, as *Synesius* saith, Ἀγχίστιος χρόνον ἱερεὺς καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐκαλεῖτο; a Priest and a Prince was *all one* with them; when the *Kings*, to preserve their Lawes *inviolable*, and to keepe their people in *obedience* that they might be happy, became *Priests*, and exercised the duties of Religion, offering *sacrifices* unto their gods, and discharging the other *offices* of the Priestly function (as our factious Priests could *willingly* take upon them the offices of the King;) or if *some* of them were not Priests (as all were not Law-makers) yet *all* of them preserved Religion as the *onely* preservation of their Lawes, and the happinesse of their Kingdomes, which they saw could not *continue* without Religion. But

The Gentile Kings preservers of religion.

Synes. ep. 126. *Vide Arnis. part.* 2. *pag.* 141. *Ad magnas rempubl. utilitates retinetur religio in civitatibus. Cicero de divin. l.* 2.

2. In the Parliament.

2. The *wisedome* of our grave Prelates, and the learning of

our

our *religious* Clergie having stopped the course of this violent streame, and hindered the translation of this *right* of Kings, unto their *new-borne* Presbyterie and late erected Synods: There sprang up *another* generation out of the dregs of the former, that because they would be sure to be bad *enough*, out of their *envy* unto Kings, and malice unto the Church (that the one doth not advance their *unworthinesse*, and the other doth not beare with their *undutifulnesse*) will needs transferre this *right* of ruling Gods Church unto a *Parliament* of Lay-men; the King shall be *denuded* of what God hath given him: and the people shall be *indued* with what God and all good men have ever *denyed* them. I deny not but the Parliament men, as they are most *noble* and *worthy* Gentlemen, so *many* of them may be very learned; and not a *few* of them most religious; and I honour the Parliament *rightly* discharging their duties, as much as their *modesty* can desire, or their *merit* deserve; neither doe I gain-say, but as they are *pious* men, and the greatest Councell of our King, so they may propose things, and request such and such *Lawes* to be enacted, such *abuses* to be redressed; and such a *reformation* to be effected, as they thinke befitting for Gods Church; but for *Aarons* seed and the Tribe of *Levi*, to be *directed* and commanded out of the *Parliament* chaire, how to performe the service of the Tabernacle, and for *Lay* men to determine the *Articles* of faith, to make *Canons* for Church-men, to condemne *heresies* and define *verities*, and to have the *chiefe* power for the government of Gods Church, as our *Faction* now challengeth, and their Preachers *ascribe* unto them, is such a violation of the *right* of Kings, such a derogation to the *Clergy*, and so prejudiciall to the *Church* of Christ, as I never found the *like* usurpation of this right, to the eradication of the *true* religion, in any age; for seeing that, as the Proverb goeth, *Quod medicorum est promittunt medici, & tractant fabrilia fabri*; what *Papist* or Athiest will be ever converted to professe that religion, which shall be truly, what now they alleadge *falsely* unto us, a *Parliamentary* religion, or a religion made by *Lay-men*, with the advice of a *few* that they choose *è fece Cleri*? I must *seriously* professe what I have often bewayled, to see

Hugo de Sancto Vict. lib. 2. de sacr. fid. par. 2. cap. 3. Laicis Christianis fidelibus terrena possidere conceditur, clericis verò tantùm spiritualia committuntur, quæ autem illa spiritualia sunt subjecit. c. 5. dicens; omnis ecclesiastica administratio in verbis consistit, in sacramentis, in ordinibus, in præceptis. Ergo, Laici nihil juris habent in legibus & præceptis condendis ecclesiasticis.

see *Nadab* and *Abihu* offering strange fires upon Gods Altar, to see the *sacred* offices of the Priests so *presumptuously* usurped by the Laity, and to see the *children* of the Church, nay, the *servants* of the Church to prescribe Lawes unto their Masters; and I did ever feare it to be an argument, not onely of a *corrupted*, but also of a *decaying* State, when *Moses* chaire should be set in the Parliament House, and the Doctors of the Church should never sit thereon: therefore I wish that the *Arke* may be brought backe from the *Philistines*, and restored to the *Priests*, to be placed in *Shilo* where it should be; and that the *care* of the Arke, which King *David* undertooke, may not be taken out of his hands by his people; but that he may have the *honour* of that service, which God hath imposed upon him. For

3. Opinion. Of the Orthodox.

3. As nothing is *dearer* to understanding, righteous, and religious Kings, then the *increase* and maintenance of *true* religion, and the *inlargement* of the Church of Christ throughout all their Dominions, so they have at *all* times imployed their studies to this end; because it is an infallible maxime, even among the *Politicians*, that the prosperity of any Kingdome flourisheth for no *longer* time, then the care of religion and the prosperity of the Church is *maintained* by them among their people: as we see *Troy* was soone lost, when they lost their *Palladium*, so it is the truest signe of a *declining* and a decaying State, to see the *Clergy* despised, and *Religion* disgraced: and therefore the provision for the *safety* of the Church, the *publique* injoying of the Word of God, the *forme* of Service, the *manner* of Government, and the *honour* and maintenance of the Clergie are *all* the duties of a most Christian King, which the King of *Heaven* hath imposed upon him for the happinesse and prosperity of his Kingdome; and whosoever derive the *authority* of this charge, either in a *blinde* obedience to the See of *Rome*, as the *Jesuites* doe, or out of their too much zeale and affection to a *new* Consistory, as the late *Presbyterians* did, or to a *Lay* Parliament, as our upstart *Anabaptists* and *Brownists* doe, are most *unjust* usurpers of the Kings *right*, which is not onely *ascribed* unto him and *warranted* by the Word of God, but

Quia religio est in potioribus respublica partibus: ut ait Aristot. Polit. l. 7. c. 8. & ipsa sola custodit hominum inter se societates: ut ait Lactant. de ira Dei, cap. 13. Recessu a Troia perdidit primum Deos.

but is also *confirmed* to the Princes of this Land by severall *Acts* of Parliament, to have the *supremacie* in all causes and over all persons, as well in the *Ecclesiasticall* as in the *Civill* government; which being so, they are exempted thereby from all *inforcement* of any domesticall or forraigne power, and freed from the *penalties* of all those Lawes, both Ecclesiasticall and Civill, whereunto all their *Subjects*, Clergy and Laity, and all *inferiour* Persons, and the superiour *Nobility* within their Kingdomes, are obliged by our Lawes and Statutes; (as hereafter I shall more fully declare.)

Therefore the Tyrians chymed their gods, least if they fled they should be destroyed. Q. Curtius de rebus Alexand. Joh. Beda, p. 22, 23.

Therefore it behoveth *all* Kings (and especially our King at *this* time) seriously to consider, what prejudice they shall *create* unto themselves and their *just* authority, if they should yeild themselves *inferiour* to their Subjects, (*aggregativè*, or *representativè*, or how you will) or *liable* to the penall Lawes, (for so they may be soone dethroned by the *unstable* affection and weake judgement of discontented people) or *subject* to the jurisdiction of Lay Elders, and the excommunication of a tyrannous Consistory, who denouncing him, *tanquam Ethnicum*, may soone adde, *a stranger shall not raigne over thee*, and so depose him from all government. For seeing all attempts are most *violent*, that have their beginning and strength from *zeale* unto religion, be the same true or false, and from the false most of all, and those are ever the most *dangerous* whose ringleaders are most *base*, (as the servile warre under *Spartacus* was most pernicious unto the *Romans*) there can be nothing of *greater* use, or more profitable, either for the *safety* of the King, the *peace* of the Church, and the *quiet* state of the Kingdome, then for the Prince, the King, to retaine the *Militia*, and to keepe that *power* and authority which the Lawes of *God* and of our *Land* have granted to, and intayled upon him, in his own hands *unclipped* and unshaken: for when the multitude shall be *unbridled*, and the *rights* of the Kings are brandished in *their* hands, we shall assuredly *taste*, and I feare in too *great* a measure (as experience now sheweth) of those *miserable* evils, which *uncontrouled* ignorance, *furious* zeale, *false* hypocrisie, and the *merciless* cruelty of the giddy-headed people, and discontented

Matth. 18. 17. Deut. 17. 15.

How necessary it is for Kings to retaine their just rights in their hands.

discontented Peeres shall bring upon us and our Prince.

But to make it *manifest* unto the world, what *power* and authority God hath granted unto Kings, for the government of the *Church*, and the preservation of his *true* religion; we find them the *worst* men, at all times and in all places, that *mislike* their government, and *reject* their authority; and we see *those* Churches most happy, and those *Kingdomes* most flourishing, which God hath blessed with *religious* Kings, as the State of the Church of *Judea* makes it plaine, when *David*, *Ezechias*, *Josias*, and the other virtuous Kings *restored* the religion, and purified that *service*, which the *idolatry* of others their predecessours had corrupted; and we know that as *Moses**, so Kings are called the *servants of God* in a more *speciall* manner then all others are: that is, not onely because they *serve* the Lord in the government of the *Common wealth*, but especially because he vouchsafeth to use their *service* for the advancement of his *Church*, and the honour of his sonne Christ here on earth: or to distribute their duties more *particularly*, we know the Lord expecteth, and so requireth a *double* service from every Christian King.

The Kings that maintaine true religion make their Kingdoms happy.

*Exod. 14. 31. Numb. 12. 7, 8. Deut. 34. 5. Josh. 1. 1, 2.

The double service of all Christian Kings.

1. The one *common* with all others, to serve him as they are his *creatures* and Christians; and therefore to serve him as all *other* Christians are bound to doe.
2. The other *proper* and peculiar to them alone, to serve him as they are *Kings* and Princes.

1: As they are Christians.

In the first respect, they are no more *priviledged* to offend then other men; but they are tyed to the *same* obedience of Gods Lawes, and are obliged to performe as *many* virtuous actions, and to abstaine from *all* vices, as well as any *other* of their Subjects: and if they faile in *either* point, they shall be called to the *same* account, and shall be judged with the *same* severity as the meanest of their people: and therefore, *Be wise O ye Kings, be learned ye that are Judges of the earth; Serve the Lord in feare, and rejoyce unto him with reverence*; for with God *there is no respect of persons*, but if they doe offend *he will binde Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with linkes of iron*: and we dare not *flatter* you, to give you the *least* liberty to neglect the *strict* service of the great God. In

Psal. 2. 10.

Rom. 2. 11. Psal. 149. 8.

In the second respect, the service of all *Christian* Kings and Princes hath (as I told you before) these two parts:

2. As they are Christian Kings: and that is twofold:

1. To protect the *true* religion, and to governe the *Church* of Christ.
2. To preserve *peace*, and to governe the *Common*-wealth.

} For

1. It is true indeed, that the *Donatists* of old, the *grand* fathers of our *new* Sectaries, were wont to say, *Quid Imperatori cum Ecclesia?* what have *we* to doe with the Emperour, or what hath the *Emperour* to doe with the *Church?* but to this *Optatus* answereth, that, *Ille solito furore accensus in hec verba prorupit.* *Donatus* out of his accustomed *madnesse* burst forth into these mad termes; for it is a *duty* that lyeth upon all Princes, (because all, both Christians and Pagans, ought to be religious, as I shewed to you before) not onely to *be* devout, but also to be the *meanes* to make all their Subjects (so farre as they can) to *become* devoted to Gods service, as the practice of those *Heathens*, that had no other guide of their actions then the *light* of nature, doth make it plaine; for *Aristotle* saith, that *Quæ ad Deorum cultum pertinent, commissa sunt regibus, & magistratibus*, those things that pertaine unto the worship of the gods are committed to the care of Kings and civill Magistrates: and whatsoever their *religion* was, (as indeed it was but meere *Superstition*) yet because Superstition and Religion, *hoc habent commune*, doe this in common: *Ut faciant animos humiles formidine divum.* Therefore to make men better, the more humble and more dutifull, the *transgression* thereof was deemed worthy to receive *punishment* among the Pagans; and that punishment was appointed by *them*, that had the *principall* authority to governe the Common-wealth, as the *Athenian* Magistrates condemned *Socrates*, (though he was a man wiser then themselves, yet as they *conceived* very faulty) for his *irreligion* and derision of their adored gods: And *Tiberius* would set up Christ among the *Roman* gods (though the act added no honour unto Christ) without the *authority* and against the will of the Senate; to shew that the *care* of religion belonged unto the *Emperour*, or chiefe Magistrate; and therefore as the Lord

1. To protect the Church.

Aug. cont. lit. Petil. l. 2.

Optat. Melivet. lib. 3.

Prima omnium in republ. functionum est, περὶ τὸ θεῖον ὁσιότης. Aristot. l. 7. c. 8.

Aristot. Polit. l. 3. c. 10.

The chiefe Magistrates of the Heathens had the charge of religion.

Deut. 17. 18, 19. commanded the Kings of *Israel* to write a copie of his Law in a booke, and to take heed to all the words of that Law for to doe them; that is, not onely as a *private* person, (for so *every* man was not to write it) but as *King*, to reduce *others* to the obedience thereof; so the examples of the best Kings both of *Israel* and *Juda*, and of the best Christian Emperours doe make this plaine unto us; for *Iosua* caused all *Israel* to put away the *strange* gods that were among them, and to incline their hearts unto the Lord God of *Israel*; *Manasses*, after his returne from *Babylon*, tooke away the *strange* gods, and the *Idols* out of the house of the Lord, and cast them all out of the Citie, and repaired the *Altar* of the Lord, and commanded *Juda* to serve the Lord God of *Israel*. And what shall I say of *David*, whose *whole* studie was to further the service of God; and of *Iehosaphat*, *Asa*, *Iosias*, *Ezechias*, and others, that were rare patternes for other Kings for the well government of Gods Church? and in the time of the Gospell, *Quod non tollit praecepta legis, sed perficit*, which takes not away the *rules* of nature, nor the *precepts* of the Law, but rather establisheth the *one* & perfecteth the *other*; because Christ came into the world, *non ut tolleret jura seculi, sed ut deleret peccata mundi*, not to take away the *rights* of the Nations, but to satisfie for the *sinnes* of the world; the best Christian *Emperours* discharged the same duty, reformed the *Church*, abolished *Idolatry*, punished *Heresie*, and maintained *Piety*: especially *Constantine* and *Theodosius*, that were most *pious* Princes, and of *much* vertues, and became as the Prophet foretold us, *nursing fathers unto Gods Church*; for though they are *most* religious and *best* in their religion, that are religious for *conscience* sake; yet there is a *feare* from the hand of the Magistrate, that is able to restraine *those* men from many *outward* evils, whom neither *conscience* nor *religion* could make honest: therefore God committed the *principall* care of his Church to the Prince, and principall Magistrate.

Josh. 24. 23.

The care of the good Kings of the *Iewes* to preserve the true religion.

The care of the good Emperours to preserve the true religion.

Esay 49. 23.

Who defended this truth.

And this is confirmed and *throughly* maintained by sundry notable men, as *Brentius* against *Asoto*, Bishop *Horne* against *Fekenham*, *Jewell* against *Harding*, and many other learned men, that have written against such other *Papists* and *Puritans*, *Anabaptists*

Anabaptists and *Brownists*, that have taken upon them to impugne it; yea, many of the *Papists* themselves at unawares, doe confesse as much; for *Osorius* saith, *Omne regii officium in religionis sanctissimæ rationem conferendum; & munus ejus est beare rempubl. religione & pietate*: all the office of a King is to be conferred or imployed for the regard and benefit of the most holy religion, and his whole duty is to *blesse* or make happy the Common-wealth with religion and piety: *Quod enim est aliud reipublicæ principi munus assignatum, quàm ut rempubl. florentem atque beatam faciat? quod quidem nullo modo sine egregiâ pietatis & religionis sanctitate perficitur.* For though we confesse with *Ignatius*, that no man is *equall* to the Bishop in causes Ecclesiasticall, no not the *King* himselfe; that is, in such things as belong to his office, as *Whitaker* saith; because he onely ought to see to holy things, that is, the *instruction* of the people, the *administration* of the Sacraments, the *use* of the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, and the like, matters of *great* weight, and *exceeding* the Kings authority; yet Kings are above Bishops in wealth, honour, power, government, and majestie: and though they may not doe any of the *Episcopall* duties, yet they may and ought lawfully to *admonish* them of their duties, and *restraine* them from evill, and *command* them diligently to execute their office; and if they *neglect* the same, they ought to *reprove* and punish them, as we reade the *good* Kings of the *Jewish* Church, and the *godly* Emperours * of the *Christian* Church have ever done; and the *Bishops* themselves in *sundry* Councels, have acknowledged the same *power* and authority to be *due*, and of right belonging unto them: as at *Mentz*, *anno* 814. and *anno* 847. *apud Binium*, *tom.* 3. *p.* 462. & 631. At *Emerita* in *Portugall*, *anno* 705. *Bin. tom.* 2. *p.* 1183. and therefore it is an ill consequent, to say, Princes have no authority to preach, *Ergo* they have no authority to punish those that will not preach, or that doe preach false Doctrine.

The Papists unawares confesse this truth.

Osorius de reg. p. 21.

Whitak. resp. Camp. p. 302.

The Kings authority over Bishops.

1. Chron. 28. 13.
2. Chron. 29.
1. Reg. 2. 16.

* As *Martian. apud Binium*, *t.* 2. *p.* 178. *Iustinian. nov. l.* 10. *tit.* 6. *Theodos. jun. Evagr. l.* 1. *c.* 12. *Basil. in Concil. Constant.* 8. *act.* 1. *Binius tom.* 3. *p.* 880.

This truth is likewise apparent, not onely by the testimony of *Scripture* and Fathers, but also by the evidence of plaine *reason*; because the *prosperity* of that Land which any King doth

Reaſon confirmeth, that Kings ſhould take care of religion.

doth governe, without a principall *care* of religion, *decayeth* and degenerateth into Warres, Dearthes, Plagues and Peſtilence, and abundance of *other* miſeries, that are the lamentable *effects* and conſequences of the *neglect* of religion, and *contempt* of the Miniſters of Gods Church; which I beleeve is no *ſmall* cauſe of theſe *great* troubles that we now ſuffer; becauſe our God, that *taketh pleaſure in the proſperity of his ſervants*, cannot endure that either his *ſervice* ſhould be neglected, or his *ſervants* abuſed.

Pſal. 35. 27.

CHAP. VII.

Sheweth the three things neceſſary for all Kings that would preſerve true Religion; how the King may attaine to the knowledge of things that pertaine to Religion; by his Biſhops and Chaplaines, and the calling of Synods; the unlawfulneſſe of the new Synod; the Kings power and authority to governe the Church; and how both the old and new Diſciplinarians and Sectaries rob the King of this power.

THerefore ſeeing this ſhould be the *greateſt* care, that brings the greateſt *honour* to a Chriſtian Prince, to promote the *true religion*; it is requiſite that we ſhould conſider thoſe things that are moſt *neceſſary* to a Chriſtian King, for the *religious* performance of this duty: And they are

Three things neceſſary for a King to preſerve the Church and true Religion.

1. A *will* to performe it.
2. An *underſtanding* to goe about it.
3. A *power* to effect it.

} And theſe three muſt be inſeparable in the Prince that maintaineth true religion. For

1. Our knowledge and our power without a *willing* minde doth want motion.

2. Our will and power without *knowledge* ſhall never be able to move right. And

3. Our will and knowledge without *ability* can never prevaile

prevaile to produce any effect. Therefore Kings and Princes ought to labour to be *furnished* with these three speciall graces.

The first is a *good will* to preserve the purity of Gods service, not onely in his *House*, but also throughout all his *Kingdome*: and this, as all other graces are, must be acquired by our faithfull *prayers*, and that in a more *speciall* manner for Kings and Princes then for any other; and it is wrought in them by *outward* instruction, and the often predication of Gods Word, and the *inward* inspiration of Gods Spirit. 1. A willing minde to do it;

The second is *knowledge*, which is not much lesse necessary then the former; because not to runne *right* is no better then not to runne at *all*, and men were as good to doe *nothing*, as to doe *amisse*; and therefore *true knowledge* is most requisite for that King that will maintaine *true religion*: and this should be not onely in *generall*, and by others, but as much as possible he can in *particulars*, and of himselfe; that himselfe might be assured what were fit to be *reformed*, and what warranted to be *maintained* in Gods service; for so *Moses* commandeth the *chiefe* Princes to *be exercised in Gods Law day and night*: because this would be a *speciall* meanes to beatifie or make happy both the Church and Common-wealth: As the *neglect* thereof brought *ignorance* unto the Church, and *ruine* to the *Romane* Empire; for as in *Augustus* time learning flourished, and in *Constantines* time piety was much embraced; because these *Emperours* were such themselves: so when the Kings, whose *examples* most men are apt to follow, either busied with *secular* affaires, or neglecting to understand the *truth* of things, and the state of the Church, do leave this care unto *others*, then others imitating their *neglect*, doe rule all things with *great* corruption, and as *little* truth; whereby *errours* and blindnesse will *over-spread* the Church; and *pride*, covetousnesse, and ambition will *replenish* the Common-wealth; and these vices, like the *tares* that grow up in Gods field to *suffocate* the pure Wheat, will at last *choake* up all vertue and piety both in Church and State. 2. Understanding to know what is to be reformed, and what to be retained. The Kings neglect of religion and the Church, is the destruction of the Common-wealth.

Therefore to prevent this *mischiefe*, the King, on whom God

God hath laid the *care* of these things, ought himselfe (what he can) to learne and find out the true *state* of things: and because it is far unbefitting the *honour*, and inconsistent with the *charge* of great Princes, (whose other affaires will not permit them) to be *alwayes* poring at their bookes, as if they were such *critiques*, as intended to exceed all others in the *theorick* learning, like *Archimedes*, that was in his studie drawing forth his *Mathematicall* figures, when the *Citie* was sackt, and his enemies pulling down the *house* about his eares; therefore it is wisedome in them to imitate the *discreet* examples of other *wise* Kings, and religious Emperours, in following the *meanes* that God hath left, and using the *power* and authority that he hath given them, to attaine unto *more* knowledge, and to be *better* instructed in any religious matter, then themselves could possibly attaine unto by their owne *greatest* studie: and that is,

How Kings may attaine unto the knowledge of religion, and understand the state of the Church, and how to governe the same.

1. To call able Clergy-men about them.

1. As *Alexander* had his *Aristotle* ready to informe him in any *Philosophicall* doubt, and *Augustus* his prime Orators, Poëts, and Historians to instruct him in all affaires; so God hath granted this *power* unto his Kings, to call those *Bishops* and command such *Chaplaines* to reside about them, as shall be able to informe them in any *truth* of Divinity, and so direct them in the *best* forme of government of Gods Church; and these Chaplaines should be well approved, both for their *learning* and their *honesty*; for to be *learned* without honesty, as many are, is to be *witty* to doe evill, which is most pernitious, and doth often times make a *private* gaine by a publique losse; or an *advantage* to themselves by the detriment of the Church: and to be *honest* without knowledge, or to have *knowledge* without experience, especially in *such* places of eminencie, and for the affaires of *importance*, may be as *dangerous*; when their want of *skill* may counsell to doe matters of much hurt: but when both are met together in one person, that man is a fit Subject to doe *good* service both to God and the King; and the King may be assured there cannot be a *better* furtherance to assist him for the *well* ordering of Gods Church, then the grave *advice* & directions of *such* instruments, as it appeareth by that memorable example of King *Ioas*, (left to be remembred by all Kings)

How they should be qualified.

Kings) who, whilest the wise and religious Priest *Jehoiada* assisted and directed him, had all things *successefull* and happy to his whole Kingdome; but after *Jehoiada's* death, the King destitute of such a Chaplaine *to attend*, and such a Priest *to counsell* him, all things came *speedily* to great ruine. 2. Reg. 12. 2.

Therefore I dare boldly avouch it, they are enemies unto Kings, and the *underminers* of Gods Church, and such *instruments* as I am not able to expresse their wickednesse, that would exclude such *Jehoiada's* from the Kings counsell; for was not *Saul* a wicked King, and *Ahab* little better? yet *Saul* would have *Samuel* to direct him, though he followed not his direction; and *Ahab* would aske counsell of *Micaiah*, though he *rejected* the same to his owne destruction: and King *David*, though never so *wise* and so great a Prophet, and *Josias*, and *Ezechias*, and all the rest of the *good* Kings, had alwayes the *Priests* and the men of God to be their *Counsellors*, and followed their directions, especially in *Church* causes, as the oracles of God: so wicked *Herod* disdained not to heare *John* the Baptist, and to be *reformed* by him in *many* things; and happy had he beene had he done it in all things. And if you reade *Eusebius* (which is called *Pamphilus*, for the great love he bare to that his *noble* Patron) and *Socrates*, and the rest of the *Ecclesiasticall* Historians, or the Historie of our owne Land, you shall finde that the *best* Kings and *greatest* Emperours had the best *Divines*, and the most reverend *Bishops* to be their chiefest *Counsellors*, and to be imployed by them in their *weightiest* affaires. How then hath the Devill now prevailed to exclude them from *all* Counsels, and as much as in him lyeth, from the *sight* of Princes, when he makes it a *suspicion* of much evill if they do but *talke* together? How hath he bewitched the Nobility to yeild to be deprived of their Chaplaines? Is it not to keepe them (that have not time to studie, and to find out truth themselves) still in the *ignorance* of things; and to none other end, then to overthrow the *true religion*, and to bring Kings and Princes to confusion? 1. Reg. 22. 16. Mar. 6. 20.

2. When the King seeth cause, God hath given him *power* and authority to call *Synods* and Councels, and to assemble the 2. To call Synods to discusse and conclude the harder things.

best men, the most *moderate* and most learned, to determine of those things *together*, which a *fewer* number could not so *well*, or at least not so *authoritatively* conclude upon: for so *Constantine* the Great called the great Councell of *Nice*, to suppresse the Heresie of *Arius*. *Theodosius* called the Councell of *Ephesus* in the case of *Nestorius*: *Valentinian* and *Martian* called the Councell of *Calcedon* against *Eutyches*: *Justinian* called the Councell of *Constantinople* against *Severus*, that renewed the Heresie of *Eutyches*: *Constantine* the Fifth called the sixth *Synod* against the *Monothelites*; and so did *many* others in the like cases: God having fully granted this *right* and authority unto them, for their *better* information in *any* point of religion, and the *governement* of the Church.

And therefore they that *deny* this power unto Kings, or *assume* this authority unto themselves, whether *Popes* or *Parliament*, out of the Kings hand, they may as well take his *eyes* out of his head; because this is *one* of the best helpes that God hath left unto Kings, to *assist* and direct them in the chiefest part of their royall government: how *presumptuous* then and injurious unto our *King*, and prejudiciall to the *Church* of Christ, was the *faction* of this Parliament, *without* the Kings leave, and *contrary* to his command, to undertake the nomination of such a *packe* of Schismaticall Divines for such a *Synod*, as might *finally* determine such points of faith and discipline, as themselves best liked of, let *all* the Christian world, that as yet never saw the *like* president, be the *Judge*; and tell us what shall be the *religion* of that Church, where the *Devill* shall have the power to prompt *worldlings* to nominate his prime Chaplaines. *Socinians*, *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and the refuse of all the *refractary* Clergy, (that seeme learned in nothing but in the *contradiction* of learning, and *justifying* Rebellion against their King and the Church) to compose the *Articles* of our faith, and to frame a *new* government of our Church? I am even *ashamed* that so *glorious* a Kingdome should ever breed so base a Faction, that durst ever *presume* to be so audacious; and I am sorry that I should be so *unhappy* to live to see such an unparallel'd boldnesse in any Clergy, that the *like* cannot be found in

The unparallel'd presumption of the Faction to call a *Synod* without the King.

The quality of the Synodicall men.

in any *Ecclesiasticall* Historie, from the *first* birth of Christ's Church to this very day, unlesse our Sectaries can produce it from some of the *Utopian* Kingdomes, that are so farre Southward *In terra Incognita*, beyond the *Torrid Zone*, that we (whose zeale is not so fiery, but are of the colder spirits) could not yet perfectly learne the true *method* of their *Anarchicall* government: or if our Lawyers can shew us the like *president* that ever Parliament called a *Synod* contrary to the Kings Proclamation, I shall rest *beholding* to them, produce it if they can. *credat Judæus apella; non ego.*

The third thing requisite to a King for the preservation of *true religion*, and the government of Gods Church, is *power* and authority to defend it; for though the Prince should be never so *religious*, never so *desirous* to defend the faith, and never so well *able* in his understanding, & so well furnished with *knowledge* to set downe what *Service* and Ceremonies should be used; yet if he hath not *power* and ability, which doe arise from his *right* and just authority to doe it, and to put the same in *execution*, all the rest are but *fruitlesse* embryoes, like those potentials, that are never reduced into actions; or like *the grasse upon the house top, that withereth before it be plucked up.* Psal. 129. 6.

3: An authority and power to guide the Church, and to uphold the true religion.

But to let you see, that Kings and Princes *should* have this power and authority in all *Ecclesiasticall* causes, and over all Ecclesiasticall *persons*, we finde that all *Ages* and all *Lawes* have warranted them to doe the same; for *Solomon* displaced *Abiathar*, and placed *Zadoc* in his roome; *Jeremy's* case was heard by the King of *Israel*; *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* made a Decree, that all those should be *deposed*, which were infected with the impiety of *Nestorius*; and *Justinian* deposed *Sylverius* and *Vigilius*: and *many* other Kings and Emperours did the like; and not onely the Law of *God*, whereof the King is the *prime* keeper, and the keeper of both Tables, but also the *Statutes* of our Land doe give unto our King the *nomination* of *Bishops*, and some other *elective* dignities in the Church, the *custody* of the Bishops Temporalties during the vacation, the *Patronage* Paramount, or right to present by the *last* lapse; and *many* other furtherances and preservatives of religion are *in*

1. Reg. 2. 27. & 35. Jerem. 26.

How all Kings and Emperours exercised this power over the Church.

terminis terminantibus, deputed by our Lawes unto the King; and for his *care* and charge thereof, they have setled upon him our *first* fruits, Tenths, Subsidies, and all other *contributions* of the Ecclesiasticall persons, which the Pope received while he *usurped* the government of this Church; these things being *due* to him that had the *supreme* power for the government.

And therefore seeing the *examples* of all good Kings in the Old Testament, and of the *Christian* Kings and Emperours in the New Testament, and all *Lawes* both of God and man, (excepting those Lawes of the *Pontificials*, that are made against the Law of God,) and all *Divines*, excepting the *Iesuites* and their sworne Brethren the *Presbyterians*, do most *justly* ascribe this *right* and power unto Kings; I may truly say with *Cassianus*, that there is no place of *audience* left for them, by whom obedience is not yeilded to that which *all* have agreed upon; nor any *excuse* for those Subjects that assist not their Soveraigne to inable him to *discharge* this great charge that is laid upon him.

Cassian. de Incarn. l. 1. c. 6.

What then shall we say to them that pull this *power*, and teare this prerogative out of the Kings hand, and place it in the hands of *mad* men, as the Prophet epithets *the madnesse of the people*? for that furious *Knox* belcheth forth this *unsavory* Doctrine, That the *Commonalty* may lawfully require of their King to have true Preachers; and if he be *negligent*, they themselves may justly *provide* them, *maintaine* them, *defend* them against all that oppose them, and *detaine* the profits of the Church Livings from the other sort of Ministers; a point fully practised by the *English-Scotizers of these dayes*: and as if this Doctrine were not *seditious* enough, and abundantly sufficient to move Rebellion, *Goodman* publisheth that *horrible* tenet unto the world, that *it is lawfull to kill wicked Kings*: which most dangerous and more damnable Doctrine, Deane *Whittingham* affirmeth to be the *tenet* of the best and most learned of them that were our *Disciplinarians*.

Pal. 65. 7. How the *Disciplinarians* rob the King of this right.

Knox to the Commonalty, *fol. 49, 50, 55.*

What true religion teacheth us.

But when as *true religion* doth command us to obey our Kings, whatsoever their religion is, *aut agendo, aut patiendo*, either in suffering with *patience* whatsoever they doe impose,

or in doing with *obedience* whatsoever they doe command, Religion can be no *warrant* for those actions, which must remaine as the everlasting *blemishes* of that religion, which either *commanded* or approved of their doing; I am sure all *wise* men will detest these *Doctrines of Devils*; and seeing it is an infallible rule, that *good* deserveth then to be accounted *evill*, when it ceaseth to be *well* done, it is apparent that it is no more lawfull for *private* and inferiour persons to usurpe the Princes power, and *violently* to remove Idolatry, or to cause any reformation, then it is for the Church of *Rome* by *invasion* or treason, to establish the Doctrine of that See in this or any other forraigne Kingdome; because both are performed by the like *usurped* authority.

Yet these were the *opinions* and practises of former times, when *Buchanan*, *Knox*, *Cartwright*, *Goodman*, *Gilby*, *Penry*, *Fenner*, *Martyn*, *Travers*, *Throgmorton*, *Philips*, *Nicholls*, and the rest of those introducers of *Out-landish* and *Genevian* Discipline, first broached these *uncouth* and unsufferable tenets in our Land, in the Realme of *England* and *Scotland*; and truely if their opinions had not *dispersed* themselves, like *poyson*, throughout all the veines of this Kingdome, and *infected* many of our *Nobility*, and as many of the greatest *Cities* of this Kingdome, (as it appeareth by this late *unparalled* rebellion) these and the rest of the *trayterous* authors of those unsavory *bookes*, which they published, and those damnable *tenets* which they most *ignorantly* held, and *maliciously* taught unto the people, should have slept in silence; their *hallowed* and sanctified Treason should have remained untouched, and their *memoriall* should have perished with them. The old Disciplinarians.

But seeing, as Saint *Chrysostome* saith of the Heretiques of his time, that although in *age* they were younger, yet in *malice* they were equall to the ancient Heretiques; and as the brood of *Serpents*, though they are of *lesse* stature, yet in their poyson *no lesse* dangerous then their dammes; so no more have our *new* Sectaries, our upstart *Anabaptists*, any *lesse* wickednesse then their *first* begetters; nay, we finde it true, that as the Poet saith, Our rebellious Sectaries farre worse then all the former Disciplinarians.

Ætas parentum pejor avis
Tulit nos nequiores. ——

These young *cubbes* prove worse then the old *foxes*; for if you compare the *whelpes* with the *wolves*, our latter *Schismaticks* with their former *Masters*, I doubt not but you shall finde *lesse* learning and *more* villany, lesse *honesty* and more *subtilty*, hypocrisie and treachery in Doctor *Burges*, Master *Marshall*, *Case*, *Goodwin*, *Burrowes*, *Calamy*, *Perne*, *Hill*, *Cheynell*, and the rest of our giddy-headed *Incendiaries*, then can be found in all the *seditious* Pamphlets of the former Disciplinarians, or of them that were hanged (as *Penry*) for their treasons: for these men doe not onely (as *Sidonius* saith of the like) *apertè invidere, abjectè fingere, & servilitèr superbire*, openly envy the *state* of the Bishops, basely forge *lyes* against them, and servilely swell with the *pride* of their owne *conceited* sanctity and *apparent* ignorance; but they have also most *impudently* (even in their Pulpits) *slandered the footsteps of Gods Anneinted*, and so brought the *abhomination* of their transgression to stand in the *holy* place; they have with *Achan* troubled *Israel*, and tormented the *whole* Land; yea, these three Kingdomes, *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and for *inciting*, provoking, and incouraging *simple*, ignorant, poore, discontented and seditious Sectaries, to be Rebels and Traytors against their owne most *gracious* King; they have not onely with *Jerusalem* justified *Samaria*, *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, but they have justified all the *Samaritanes*, all the *Sodomites*, all the *Schismaticks*, *Heretickes*, *Rebels*, and *Traytors*, *Papists* and *Atheists*, and all that went *before* them, *Judas* himselfe in many circumstances not excepted; and that which makes their doings the *more* evill, and the more *exceedingly* wicked, is, that they make *religion* to be the warrant for their evill doings, the *packe*-horse to carry, and the *cloake* to cover all their treacheries: and thereby they drew the greater multitudes of poore Zelots to be their followers.

Sidon. lib. 2. epist.

For which their intolerable villanies, if I be not deceived in my judgement, they of all others, and above all the Rebels in the Kingdome, deserve the greatest and severest punishment; God of Heaven give them the grace to repent.

And therefore seeing it is not onely the *honour*, but also the *duty*, as of all other Kings, so likewise of our King, to be as the *Princes* of our Land are *justly* stiled, the *Defenders of the Faith*; and that not *onely* in regard of enemies *abroad*, but also

in

in respect of those farre *worse* enemies, which desire alteration at home, it behoves the King to looke to these *home-bred* enemies of the Church; and seeing the King, though never so *willing* for his piety and religion, never so *able* for his knowledge and understanding, yet without *strength* and power to effect what he desires, cannot *defend* the faith, and maintaine the true religion, from the *violence* of Sectaries and Traytors within his Kingdome; it behoves us all to doe these two things.

What Gods faithfull servants, and the Kings loyall Subjects must doe in these times.

1. To *justifie* the Kings ἐξουσίαν, his authority and right to be the *supreame* governour and defender of the Church, and of Gods *true religion* and service, both in respect of Doctrine and Discipline; and that none else, *Pope* or *Parliament*, hath any power at all herein, but what they have *derivatively* from him: which I hope we have sufficiently proved.

1. To justifie the Kings right,

2. To *submit* our selves unto our King and to adde our *strength*, force, and power to inable his *power* to discharge this duty against all the *Innovators* of our religion, and the *enemies* of our peace, for the *honour* of God, and the *happinesse* of this Church and Common-wealth: for *that* power which is called the *Kings* power, and is granted and given to him of God, is not onely that *heroicke* vertue of fortitude, which God planteth in the *hearts* of most noble Princes, (as he hath most *graciously* done it in *abundant* measure in our most gracious King) but it is the *collected* and united power and strength of *all* his Subjects, which the Lord hath commanded us to *joyne* and submit it for the *assistance* of the Kings power, against all those that shall oppose it; and if we *refuse* or neglect the same, then questionlesse whatsoever *mischiefe*, idolatry, barbarity, or superstition shall take root in the Church, and whatsoever *oppression* and wickednesse shall impaire the Common-wealth, Heaven will *free* His Majestie, and the *wrath* of God, in no small measure, must undoubtedly light upon us and our posterity; even as *Debora* saith of them, that refused to assist *Barac* against his enemies, *Curse ye Meroz, curse bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, because they came not forth to helpe the Lord against the mighty.*

2. To assist Him against the Rebels.

Judg. 5. 23.

CHAP. VIII.

CHAP. VIII.

Sheweth it is the right of Kings to make Eccleſiaſticall Lawes and Canons, proved by many authorities and examples; that the good Kings and Emperours made ſuch Lawes by the advice of their Biſhops and Clergie, and not of their Lay Counſellors; how our late Canons came to be annulled; that it is the Kings right to admit his Biſhops and Prelates to be of his Councell, and to delegate ſecular authority, or civill juriſdiction unto them; proved by the examples of the Heathens, Jewes, and Chriſtians.

OUt of *all* this that hath been ſpoken, it is *more* then manifeſt, that the King ought to have the *ſupreme* power over Gods Church, and the government thereof, and the *greateſt* care to preſerve true religion throughout all his Dominions: this is his *duty*, and this is his *honour*, that God hath committed not a people, but *his people*, and the members of his Son under his charge. For the *performance* of which charge, it is requiſite for us to know, that God hath granted unto him, among other rights, theſe two ſpeciall prerogatives.

Two ſpeciall rights and prerogatives of the King, for the government of the Church.

1. That he may and ought to make Lawes, Orders, Canons, and Decrees, for the well governing of Gods Church.
2. That he may, when he ſeeth cauſe, lawfully and juſtly grant tolerations and diſpenſations of his owne Lawes and Decrees, as he pleaſeth. For

1. To make Lawes and Canons.

1. Not onely *Solomon* and *Jehoſaphat* gave commandement, and preſcribed unto the *chiefe* Prieſts and Levites, what *forme* and order they ſhould obſerve in their Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, and *method* of ſerving God; but alſo *Conſtantine*, *Theodoſius*, *Juſtinian*, and all the Chriſtian *Emperours* that were carefull of Gods ſervice did the like; and therefore, when the *Donatiſts* alleadged, that *ſecular* Princes had nothing to doe to meddle in *matters* of religion, and in cauſes *Eccleſiaſticall*,

S. *Auguſtine*

S. *Augustine* in his second Epistle against *Gaudentius*, saith, I have already proved that it appertained to the *Kings* charge, that the *Ninivites* should pacifie Gods wrath; and therefore the *Kings* that are of Christ's Church do judge most *truly*, that it belongeth to their charge, to see that men *rebell* not without punishment against the same; because God doth *inspire* it into the mindes of Kings, that they should procure the *Commandements* of the Lord to be performed in all their Kingdomes; for they are commanded *to serve the Lord in feare*; and how doe they serve the Lord *as Kings*, but in making *Lawes* for Christ? as *man* he serveth him by living *faithfully*, but as *King* he serveth him in making *Lawes* that shall command *just* things, and forbid the *contrary*, which they could not doe if they were not Kings: And by the example of the King of *Ninive*, *Darius*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and others, which were but *figures* and prophesies that fore-shewed the *power*, duty, and service that *Christian* Kings should owe and performe in *like* sort to the furtherance of Christs *religion*, in the time of the New-Testament, when *all Kings shall fall downe* and worship Christ, and *all Nations shall doe him service*, he proveth, that the *Christian* Kings and Princes should make *Lawes* and Decrees for the furtherance of Gods service, even as *Nebuchadnezzar* had done in his time. And upon the words of the Apostle, that *the King beareth not the sword in vaine*, he proveth against *Petilian*, that the *power* and authority of the Princes, which the Apostle treateth of in that place, is given unto them, to make sharpe *penall* Lawes to further *true religion*, and to suppresse all *Heresies* and Schismes.

Aug. l. 2. c. 28

Idem ep. 48. & ep. 50. ad Bonifac.

So they are called the Kings Ecclesiasticall Lawes.

Psal. 72. 11.

Aug. cont. lit. Petil. l. 2. c. 92.

Idem in l. de 12 abus. grad. grad. 2.

And so accordingly we finde the *good* Emperours and Kings have ever done; for *Constantine* caused the *idolatrous* religions to be suppressed, and the *true* knowledge of Christ to be preached and planted amongst his people, and made many wholesome *Lawes* and godly *Constitutions*, to restraine the *sacrificing* unto Idols, and all other *devillish* and superstitious south-sayings, and to cause the *true service* of God to be rightly administred in every place, saith *Eusebius*. And in another place he saith, that the same *Constantine* gave *injunctions* to

The good Emperours have made Lawes for the government of the Church.

Euseb. in vita Const. l. 2. & 3.

the *chiefe* Ministers of the Churches, that they should make *speciall* supplication to God for him; and he injoyned all his *Subjects* that they should keepe *holy* certaine dayes dedicated to Christ, and the *Sabboth* or Saturday (which was then wont to be kept *holy*, and as yet not *abrogated* by any Law among the Christians;) he gave a *Law* to the Ruler of every Nation, that they should celebrate the *Sunday*, or the Lords day in like sort; and so for the dayes that were dedicated to the *memory* of the Martyrs, and other *festivall* times; and all such things were done according to the *ordinance* of the Emperour.

Idem de vita Constant. l. 1. & 3. & 4. c. 18.

Nicephorus writing of the excellent vertues of *Andronicus*, some to *Immanuel Palæologus*, and comparing him to *Constantine* the Great, saith, thou hast restored the *Catholique* Church, being troubled with *new* opinions, to the old State, thou hast banished all *unlawfull* and impure doctrine, thou hast established the *truth*, and hast made *Lawes* and Constitutions for the same.

Nicephor. in præfation. Eccles. hist.

Sozomenus speaking of *Constantines* sonnes, saith, the Princes also concurred to the increase of these things, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιδιῶρθουν, shewing their *good affections* to the Churches, no lesse then their father did, and honouring the *Clergy* their servants with *singular* promotions and immunities, both confirming their *fathers* Lawes, and making also *new Lawes* of their owne, against such as went about to *sacrifice* and to worship Idols, or by any other meanes fell to the *Greekish* or Heathenish superstitions.

Sozomenus l. 3. c. 17.

Theodoret tells us, that *Valentinian* at the Synod in *Illirico*, did not onely *confirme* the true faith by his royall assent, but made also many godly and *sharpe Lawes*, as well for the maintenance of the *truth* of Christ his doctrine, as also touching many other *causes Ecclesiasticall*, and, as ratifying those things that were done by the Bishops, τῆς ἀμφιβόλου ἐξήνεγκε λύσεως, he sent abroad to them that doubted thereof.

Theodor. l. 4. c. 5, 6, & 7.

Honorius at the request of *Boniface* the first, made a *Law*, whereby it might appeare what was to be done, when two *Popes* were chosen at once by the indiscretion of the Electors.

Distinct. 79. & duo.

Martianus also made a *Statute*, to cut off and put away all

all manner of contention about the *true faith* and religion in the Councell of *Calcedon*.

The Emperour *Justinus* made a *Law*, that the Churches of *Heretiques* should be consecrated to the *Catholique* religion, saith *Martinus Penitentiarius*. And who knowes not of the *many* Lawes and Decrees that *Justinian* made in *Ecclesiastical causes* for the furtherance of the true religion? for in the beginning of the *Constitutions* collected in the Code of *Justinian*, the first 13 titles are all filled with *Lawes* for to rule the *Church*; where it forbiddeth the Bishops to *reiterate* baptisme, to paint or grave on earth the *Image* of our Saviour. And in the *Novels* the Emperour ordaineth *Lawes*, of the *creation* and consecration of Bishops; that *Synods* shall be *annually* held; that the *holy* mysteries should not be celebrated in private houses; that the Bishops should speake *aloud* when they celebrate the Sacraments of Baptisme and the Eucharist; and that the holy *Bible* should be translated into the *vulgar* tongue, and the like.

L. 1. tit. 5.
L. 1. tit. 7.
Novel. 123. c. 10.
Novel. 58.
Novel. 137 c. 6.

And not onely these and the rest of the *godly* Emperours that succeeded them, but also *Ariamirus*, *Wambanus*, *Richaredus*, and divers other Kings of *Spaine* did in like manner: And *Charlemaine*, who approved not the decisions of the Greekish *Synod*, wrote a booke against the same *, whereby the King maintained himselfe in possession, to make *Lawes* for the Church (saith *Iohannes Beda*) of which Lawes there are many in a booke, called *The capitulary Decrees of Charles the Great*; who as *Pepin* his predecessor had done in the Citie of *Bourges*, so did he also assemble many Councels in divers places of his Kingdomes, as at *Mayens*, at *Tours*, at *Reines*, at *Chaalons*, at *Arles*, and the sixt, most famous of all, at *Francfort*, where himselfe was present in person, and condemned the errour of *Felician*; and so other Kings of *France*, and the Kings of our owne Kingdome of *England*, both before and after the Conquest, (as Master *Fox* plentifully recordeth) did make *many Lawes* and Constitutions for the government of Gods Church.

* Intituled, *A Treatise of Charlemayne against the Greekish Synod touching Images.*

But as *Diocletian*, that was neither the *best* nor the *happiest* governour, said most truly of the civill government, that *there*

The saying of *Diocletian*.

* That is, to rule the Common-wealth.

*was nothing harder then to rule well**, so it is *much* harder to governe the Church of Christ; therefore as there cannot be an argument of *greater* wisedome in a Prince, nor any thing of greater *safety* and felicity to the Common-wealth, then for him to make *choice* of a wise Councell to assist him in his most *weighty* affaires, saith *Cornelius Tacitus*: So all *religious* Kings must do the *like* in the government of the Church, and the making of their *Lawes* for that government; for God, out of his *great* mercy to them, and no lesse desire to have his people *religiously* governed, left such men to be their supporters, their helpers and advicers in the performance of these duties: and I pray you *whom* did Kings choose for this businesse, but whom *God* had ordained for that purpose? for you may observe, that although those *Christian* Kings and Emperours made their *Lawes*, as having the *supremacy* and the *chiefest* care of Gods religion committed by God into their hands; yet they did never make them, that ever I could reade, with the *advice*, counsell, or direction of any of their Peeres, or *Lay* Subjects; but, as *David* had *Nathan* and *Gad*, *Nebuchadnezzar* had *Daniel*, and the rest of the *Jewish* Kings and *Heathens* had their *Prophets* onely and *Priests* to direct them in all matters of *religion*, so those *Christian* Kings and Princes tooke their *Bishops* and their Clergie *onely* to be their counsellors and directors in all *Church* causes, as it appeareth out of all the *fore-cited* Authors, and all the Histories that doe write thereof: and *Justinian* published this Law, that when any *Ecclesiasticall* cause or matter was moved, his *Lay* officers should not *intermeddle* with it, but should suffer the *Bishops* to end the same according to the *Canons*: the words are, *Si Ecclesiasticum negotium sit, nullam communionem habentes civiles magistratus cum ea disceptationes, sed religiosissimi Episcopi secundum sacros canones negotio finem imponunto.* For the *good* Emperours knew *full* well that the *Lay* Senate neither *understood* what to determine in the points of *faith*, and the government of Christ's Church, nor was ever *willing* to doe any *great* good, or any speciall favour unto the Shepherds of Christ's *flocks*, and the teachers of the *true* religion; because the Sonne of God had fore-told it, that

Tacitus Annal. lib. 12.

The good Kings and Emperours made their Lawes for the government of the Church, onely by the advice of their Clergy.

A good Law of *Justinian. Constit. 123.*

that *the world should hate us*, that *secular* men and *Lay* Senators should *commonly* oppose, crosse, and shew all the spite they can unto the *Clergy*, of whom our Saviour saith, *Behold I send you forth, ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων, as sheepe in the midst of wolves.* Whence this, μέγα χάσμα, great distance between their dispositions being observed, it grew into a Proverb, that *Laici semper infesti sunt Clericis.* And Doctor *Meriton* in a Sermon before King *James*, observed this as one of the *good* favours the Clergie of *England* found from our Parliaments since the reformation, (when many men *first* began to be translated from the seat of the scornefull to sit in *Moses* chaire, and to prescribe *Lawes* for Christ his Spouse) to make an Act, that all *wandering* beggars after their *correction* by the Constable, should be brought to the *Minister* of the Parish, to have their names registred in a booke, (and the Constable used to give to the Minister 2ª for his paines for every *one* so registred) but if he refused or *neglected* to doe it, the Statute saith he should be punished 5ª for every *one* that should be so omitted; where, besides the *honourable* office, I will not say to make the Minister of Christ a Bedle of the beggars, but a Register of the vagrants; you see the punishment of *one* neglect amounteth to the reward of *thirty* labours: therefore all the *Christian* Emperours and the *wisest* Kings, considering this *great* charge that God had laid upon them, to make wholesome *Lawes* and Constitutions for the government of his Church, and seeing the *inclinations* of the *Laity*, would never permit any of these *Lay* Elders, and the *Citizens* of the world, to *usurpe* this authority, to be the composers, contrivers, or assistants in concluding of any *Ecclesiastical* Law, untill the *fences* of Gods vineyard were pulled downe, and the *wilde* Boare out of the forrest, the audacious presumption of the *unruly* Commonalty ventured either to *governe* the Church, or to *subdue* their Prince; since which *incroachment* upon the *rights* of Kings, it hath never succeeded well with the Church of Christ; and I dare boldly say it; *& fideuter quia fideliter*, and the more boldly because most truly: the *more* authority they shall gaine herein, the *lesse* glory shall Christ have from the service of his Church; and therefore *Be-*

John. 15. 19.

Matth. 10. 16.

How the Laity love the Clergie.

A very memorable act. *Anno* 39. *Eliz. cap.* 4.

That the Laity should have no interest in making Lawes for the Church.

wiſe ô ye Kings. And conſider how any new Canons are to be made by our Statute, 25. *Hen.* 8.

Ob. *Ob.* But then it may be demanded, if this be ſo, that the *Laity* hath no *right* in making *Lawes* and Decrees for the government of Gods Church, but that it belongs *wholly* unto the King to doe it, with the advice of his *Biſhops* and the reſt of his Clergy; then how came the *Parliament* to annull thoſe *Canons* that were ſo made by the *King* and Clergy, becauſe they had no *vote* nor conſent in confirming of them?

Sol. *Sol.* Truely I cannot *anſwer* to this Objection, unleſſe I ſhould tell you what the Poët ſaith,

Dum furor in curſu, currenti cede furori,
Difficiles aditus impetus omnis habet.

They were *furiouſly* bent againſt them; and you know, *furor arma miniſtrat*: *& dum regnant arma ſilent leges*, all Lawes muſt *ſleepe* while Armes prevaile: Beſides, you may finde *thoſe* Canons, as if they had beene *prophetically* made, fore-ſaw the *increaſing* ſtrength of *Anabaptiſme*, *Browniſme*, *Puritaniſme*, moſt likely to ſubvert true *Proteſtaniſme*, and therefore were as *equally* directed againſt theſe *Sectaries* of the left hand, as againſt the *Papiſts* on the right hand; and I thinke the *whole* Kingdome now *findes* and feeles the *ſtrength* of that *virulent* Faction; and therefore what wonder that they ſhould ſeeke to *breake* all thoſe Canons to pieces, and *batter* them downe with their mighty *Ordinances*, for ſeeking to ſubdue their *invincible* ertours; or elſe, becauſe (as they ſay) the *Eccleſiaſticall* State is not an independent ſociety, but a *member* of the whole the *Parliament* was not ſo to be *excluded*, as that their advice and *approbation* ſhould not be required, to make them *obligatory* to the reſt of the Subjects of the whole Kingdome, which claime this *priviledge*, to be tyed to the *obſervation* of no humane Lawes, that themſelves by their repreſentatives have not conſented unto.

2. To grant diſpenſations of his owne Lawes.

2. As the King is intruſted by God to make *Lawes* for the government of the Church of Chriſt, ſo it is a *rule* without queſtion, that *ejus eſt diſpenſare & abſolvere, cujus eſt condere*; he hath the like power to *diſpenſe* with whom he pleaſeth, and

to

to *absolve* him that transgresseth, as he hath to *oblige* them: therefore our Church being for reformation the most *famous* throughout all the parts of the Christian world, and our King having so *just* an authority to doe the same, it is a most *impudent* scandall, full of all *malice* and *ignorance*, not to be endured by any well-affected Christian, that the *new* brood of the old *Anabaptists* doe lay upon our Church and State, that they did very *unreasonably* and unconscionably by their Lawes grant *Dispensations* both for *Pluralities* and *Non-residency*, onely to further the corrupt desires of some *few*, to the infinite wrong of the *whole* Clergy, besides the hazard of many *thousands* of soules, the intolerable *dishonour* of Gods truth, and the exceeding *disadvantage* of Christ his Church: for, seeing God hath *principally* committed, and *primarily* commanded the *care* of his Church and Service unto Kings, who are therefore to make *Lawes* and Orders for the *well* governing of the same, I shall make it most *evident*, that they may, as they have ever done, most *lawfully* and more *beneficially*, both for Gods Church, and also for the Common-wealth, doe these three things.

The scandall of the malicious ignorants against the worthiest Clergy.

1. To grant that *grace* and favour unto their *Bishops* and other Ecclesiasticall persons, as to admit them of their *counsell*, and to undertake *secular* authority and civill jurisdiction.

Three speciall points handled.

2. To allow *dispensations* of *Pluralities* and *Non-residency*, which they may most *justly* and most *wisely* do, without any transgression of the Law of God.

3. To give *tolerations* (where they see cause) of many things prohibited by their Law, to *dispense* with the transgressions, and to remit the *faults* of the transgressors. For

1. Though the world relapsed from the *true* light, and declined from the *syncere* religion to most detestable superstition; yet there remained in the people certaine *impressions* of the divine truth, that *there was a God*, and that this God was *religiously* to be worshipped; and those men that taught the *worship* of that God, how *fondly* soever they did mistake it, were had in *singular* account and supereminent authority among all Nations: and as *Saravia* saith, they were *competers* with Kings

1. Point.

The great respect of the Clergy in former ages.

Saravia, l. 2. c. 2. p. 103.

1. Among the Gentiles.

Kings in their government, so that *nothing* was done without their counsell and consent; and as *Theseus* was the first that *Cives Atticos è pagis in urbem compulit*, and put the *difference* betwixt Nobles, Husbandmen, and Artificers; so the *Priests* were alwayes selected out of the *noblest* families, and were ever in all their *publique* counsels, as the Divines sate among the *Athenians*, and the *South-sayers* sate with the King among the *Lacedemonians* in all their weightiest consultations: And *Strabo* tells us, that the Priests of *Bellona*, which were in *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, (for that Goddesse was honoured in both places) were regarded with the *greatest* honour next to the *King* himselfe: and the *Romans* that were both wealthy, warlike, and wise, did almost *nothing* without the *advice* and counsell of their *Priests*. I will omit what *Valerius Maximus* setteth downe of their care of *religion*, and their great respect unto their *Priests* and religious persons; and I will referre you *onely* to what *Tully* writeth of this point, where he saith, that the *greatest* and the worthiest thing in their Common-wealth was the *priviledge* and preheminence of the Divines, which was joyned with the greatest *authority*; for they *dismissed* the companies and the Councels of the chiefest Empires and the greatest Potentates, when they were proposed; they *refrayned* them when they were concluded; they ceased from the *affaires* which they had in hand, if but *one* Divine did say the contrary; they appointed that the *Consuls* should depose themselves from their Magistracie; & it was in their *intire* power, either to *give* leave or not to give leave, to deale with the people, or not to deale; to repeale *Lawes* not lawfully made, and to suffer *nothing* to be done by the Magistrate in *peace* or *warre* without their leave or authority: this was their *Law*; (though I beleeve it was not *alwayes* observed by their proud Consuls, and unruly Magistrates.) *Cicero de nat. deorum, l. 3.*

In like manner *Cæsar* writeth of the *Gaules* and *Britons*, that they had two sorts of men in singular honour; the *one* was their *Druides* or Divines, the *other* was their *Souldiers* or men of warre; and he saith, that their *Druides* determined of all *controversies* (in a manner) both private and publique; and if there

Oser. p. 231. De tota Syria & Palestina refert Dion. l. 37. quòd rex summi Pontificis nomen habeat.

Strabo lib. 12.

Apud Tertul. adver. Valent. Hermetem legimus appellari & Max. sacerdotem, & maximum regem.

Cicero l. 2. de legibus.

Diotogenes apud Stob. dicit. ἀνάγκη τὴν τέλειον βασιλέα, σοφίαν τε ἄμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ὁσιότητα ἔχειν. Æthiopes reges suos deligebant ex numero sacerdotum. Diodor. l. 3. c. 2. Titus Vespas. Pontificatum maximum ideo se professus est accipere, ut pœnas servaret manum. Sueton. in Tito. c. 9. In Attica regnum erat concretum cum sacerdotio Deæ.

there were any *crime* committed, any *murther* attempted, if any *controversie* about inheritance, or the bounds of lands did arise, they also did set downe their *Decree*, and appointed the penalty: and whosoever rejected their *order*, or refused their *judgement*, they excommunicated *him* from all society, and he was then deemed of all men as an *ungodly* and a most graceless person. Thus did they, that had but the *twilight* of corrupted nature to direct them, judge *those* that were most conversant with the *minde* and will of the gods, to be the *fittest* Counsellors and Judges of the actions of men: and I feare these children of *nature* will rise in judgement, to condemne *many* of them that professe themselves to be the sonnes of *grace*, for comming so short of them in this point.

si inuvit Ovid. Ecce suburbana templum nemorale Diana, Partaque per gladios regna nocente manu. De arte amandi, lib. 1. & Strabo l. 5.

2. The *Jewes* also which received the *oracles* of God, were injoyned by God to yeild unto their *Priests* the dispensation both of *divine* and humane Lawes; and the Lord enacted it by an *irrevocable* Law, that the *judgement* of the High Priest should be observed as *sacred* and inviolable in all controversies: and if any man refused to *submit* himselfe unto it, his *death* must make recompence for his contumacy. And *Iosephus* saith, *Si judices nesciunt de rebus ad se delatis pronunciare, integram causam in urbem sanctam mittent, & convenientes Pontifex & Propheta & Senatus, quod visum sit pronuncient*: and in his second booke against *Appian* he saith, *Sacerdotes inspectores omnium, judices controversiarum, punitores damnatorum constituti sunt à Moyse*: the Priests were appointed by *Moses* to be the lookers into *all* things, the *Judges* of controversies, and the *punishers* of the condemned. And they were of that *high* esteeme among the *Iewes*, that the *royall* bloud disdained not to match in marriages with the *Priests*, as *Iehojada* married the daughter of King *Ieboram*, and in the *vacancie* of Kings they had all the *affaires* of the Kingdom in their administration; and when they became tributaries unto the *Romans* after *Aristobulus*, the *royall* government was often annexed to the *Priesthood*: and S. *Paul* argueth from hence, that *if the administration of death was glorious, how shall not the ministration of the spirit be rather glorious? for if the ministration of condemnation be glory,*

2. Among the *Iewes.*

Deut. 17.

Ioseph. contra App. lib 2.

2. Chron. 22 11

2. Cor. 3. 7, 8, 9.

much more doth the miniſtration of righteouſneſſe exceed in glo-
ry; or otherwiſe it were very ſtrange, that the Miniſters of the *Goſpel* ſhould be eſteemed more *baſe* and contemptible, becauſe their calling is farre more *glorious* and excellent; yea, ſo excellent, that to all *good* Chriſtians the Prophet demandeth, *quàm ſpecioſi pedes eorum?*

Eſay 52. 7.

Prieſts imployed in ſecular affaires.

And for the diſcharging of *ſecular* imployments, we have not onely the example of the *Prieſts* and Prophets of the Old Teſtament, but we have alſo the teſtimony and the practice of many godly *Biſhops* and Fathers of the *Church* of Chriſt, under the New Teſtament, to juſtifie this truth. For

1. Among the Jewes. Pſal. 99. 6.

1. Not onely *Moſes* and *Aaron* that were both the *Prieſts* of the moſt high God, and the chiefe *Judges* in all *ſecular* cauſes, but alſo *Joſeph* had his juriſdiction over the *Egyptians*, *Daniel* had his Lieutenancie over the *Babylonians*, and *Nehemias* was a great Courtier among the *Perſians*: and yet theſe *ſecular* imployments were no hinderance to them in the *divine* worſhip and ſervice of God. So *Ely* and *Samuel* both, were both *Judges* and *Prieſts* together: and the moſt religious Princes, *David*, *Solomon*, *Joſaphat*, and others, uſed the *Prieſts* and Levites at their command in the *civill* government of their Dominions; for when *David* cauſed all the *Levites* to be numbred from 30 yeares old and upward, and that they were found to be 38 thouſand; he appointed 24 thouſand of them to be *over-ſeers* of the workes for the houſe of the Lord, and he ordained the other ſix thouſand to be *Judges* and Rulers in all *Iſrael*; and ſo did *Joſaphat* likewiſe*; for though the *laſt* verſe of the ſaid chapter ſeemes to put a *difference* betwixt the *Civill* matters and the *Eccleſiaſticall* affaires; yet it is rightly anſwered by *Saravia*, that this *errour* riſeth from a miſconceived opinion of their *government*, as if it were the *ſame* with the government of ſome of our reformed Churches, which was *nothing* leſſe; for if you compare *this* place with the 26. chap. of the 1. *Chron.* verſ. the 29, 30, and 32. you may eaſily finde, that the Kings *ſervice*, or the affaires of the King, doth not ſignifie the *civill* matters, or the *politique* affaires of the Kingdome, over which *Amarias* here, and *Haſhabia* and his brethren

Priests & Prophets among the Jewes exerciſed ſecular juriſdiction.

2. Chron. 23. 4.
* 2. Chron. 19. 11.
The place explained.

Sigonius legit. ſuper opera ſua ad regis officia pertinent. l. 6. p. 315.

thren there (1. *Chron.* 26. 30.) were appointed the chiefe Rulers; but it signifieth *those* things which pertained to the Kings *right*, betwixt him and his subjects, (as those things that were described by *Samuel*, and were retained, and perhaps augmented, either by the *consent* of the people, or the *incroachment* of the succeeding Kings, as the speciall rights of the Kings) over which *Zebadias* the sonne of *Ismael* was appointed by *Iehosaphat* to be the Ruler; and the businesse of the Lord is fully set downe, *vers.* 10. to be not onely the Church affaires, but all the affaires of the Kingdome, betweene *blood and blood*, *betweene Law and Commandement, Statutes and judgements*, over which the *Priests* and Levites were appointed the *ordinary* Judges, and the Interpreters of the Law, as well *Civill* as Ecclesiasticall; for the Lord saith plainly, that *every question and controversie shall be determined according to the censure of the Priests*; which certainly he would never have so *prescribed*, nor these *holy* men have thus *executed* them, if these two functions had beene so *averse* and contrary the one to the other, that they could never be exercised together by the same man.

1. Sam. c. 8.

Vers. 10.

Ezech 44. 23. *Vide locum. Sigon. ast; & circa judicium sanguinis ipse insistent.*

2. In the *Primitive* times under the Gospell, *Salmeron* saith, that in the time of S. *Augustine*, as himselfe teacheth, *Episcopi litibus Christianorum vacare solebant*, the Bishops had so much *leisure*, that they were wont to judge of the *quarrels* of Christians; yet they did not so spend their time in *judging* their contentions, that they *neglected* their Preaching and Episcopall function: and now that they doe judge in *civill* causes, *consuetudine Ecclesiæ introductum est, ut peccata caverentur.* And *Bellarmine* saith, *Non pugnat cum verbo Dei, ut unus homo sit Princeps Ecclesiasticus & politicus simul*; it is not against the Word of God, that the *same* man should be an *Ecclesiasticall* and a *Secular* Prince together, when as the same man may both governe his *Episcopacie* and his *Principality*. And therefore we reade of divers men that were both the Princes and the Bishops of the same Cities: as the Archbishop of *Collen, Ments, Triers*, and other *German* Princes, that are both *Ecclesiasticall* Pastors, and great *secular* Princes. And *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was for a long while *Viceroy* of this Kingdome:

2. In the Primitive Church. *Salmer. tract. 18. in parabol. hominis divitis, lo. 16. num. 1.*

Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 5. c. 9.

Theod. l. 2. c. 30.

Henr. of Huntington, Hist. Angl.

And ſo *Leo* 9. *Iulius* 2. *Philip*, Archbiſhop of *Yorke*. *Adelboldus*. *Innocent* 3. *Collenutius* and *Blondus*, and many others, *famous* and moſt worthy Biſhops, both of *this* Iland and of *other* Kingdomes, have undertaken and exerciſed *both* the Functions. And Saint *Paul* recommendeth *ſecular* buſineſſes and judgements unto the Paſtors of the Church, as S. *Auguſtine* teſtifieth at large; where he ſaith, I call the Lord *Ieſus* a witneſſe to my ſoule, that for ſo much as concerneth my *commodity*, I had rather worke *every* day with my hands, and to reſerve the other houres free to reade, pray, and exerciſe my ſelfe in Scriptures, then to ſuſtaine the *tumultuous* perplexities of other mens cauſes, in determining *ſecular* controverſies by *judgement*, or taking them up by *arbitrement*; to which troubles the Apoſtle hath *appointed* us, not of his owne will, but of his that ſpake in him. And as this *excellent* Father, that wrote ſo many *worthy* volumes, did notwithſtanding imploy no *ſmall* part of his time in theſe *troubleſome* affaires, ſo S. *Ambroſe* twice undertooke an honourable Embaſſie for *Valentinian* the Emperour unto the Tyrant *Maximus*. And *Maruthe* Biſhop of *Meſopotamia* was ſent by the *Roman* Emperour, an Ambaſſadour to the King of *Perſia*, in which imployment he hath *abundantly* benefited both the Church and the Emperour: And we reade of divers *famous* men that undertooke *divers* functions, and yet neither *confounded* their offices, nor *neglected* their duties; for *Spiridion* was an husbandman, and a Biſhop of the Church; a Paſtor of *ſheepe*, and a feeder of *ſoules*; and yet none of the ancient Fathers, that we reade of, either *envyed* his Farme, or *blamed* his neglect in his Biſhopricke; but they admired his *ſimplicity*, and commended his *ſanctity*: they were not of the ſpirit of our *hypocriticall* Saints. And *Theodoret* writeth, that one *Iames* Biſhop of *Niſib*, was both a Biſhop and a Captaine of the ſame Citie, which by the *helpe* of his God he manfully preſerved againſt *Sapor* King of *Perſia*. And *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Samoſis*, managing himſelfe with all warlike abiliments, ranged along throughout all *Syria*, *Phanicia*, and *Palaſtina*; and as he paſſed, erected *Churches*, and ordained *Prieſts* and Deacons, and performed ſuch other *Eccleſiaſticall* penſions, as pertained

Aug. tom. 3. de operib. Monach. c. 29.

Socrat. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 7.

Theodor. lib. 4. c. 13.

tained to his office in all places: and I feare me the iniquity of our time will now call upon all Bishops, that are able, to doe the like; to preach unto our people, and to fight against Gods enemies, (that have long laboured to overthrow his Church) as we reade of some Bishops of this Kingdome that have beene driven to do the like: and if these men might doe these things without blame, as they did, why may not the same man be both a Bishop and the Kings Counsellor? both a Preacher in the Pulpit, and a Justice of the Peace on the Bench? and yet the callings not *confounded*, though the same man be called to *both* offices; for you know the office of a *Lawyer* is different from the office of a *Physitian*, and the office of a *Physitian* as different from the duty of a *Divine*; and yet, as Saint *Luke* was an excellent *Physitian*, and a heavenly *Evangelist*; and S. *Paul* as good a *Lawyer*, as he was a *Preacher*, (for he was bred at the feet of *Gamaliel*) as was Master *Calvin* too, as good a *Civilian* as he was a *Divine*, (for that was his first profession;) so the same man may, as in *many* places they doe, and that without blame, both play the part of a *Physitian* to cure the body, and of a *Divine* to instruct the soule; and therefore why not of a *Lawyer*? when as the Preachers duty, next to the teaching of the *faith* in Christ, is to perswade men to live according to the rules of *Justice*; and *Justice* we cannot understand without the knowledge of the *Lawes*, both of God and man; and if he be obliged to *know* the Law, why should he be thought an unfit man to *judge* according to the Law? But

CHAP. IX.

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Sheweth a full answer to foure speciall Objections that are made against the Civill jurisdictions of Ecclesiasticall persons; their abilities to discharge these offices, and desire to benefit the Common-wealth; why some Councels inhibited these offices unto Bishops; that the King may give titles of honour unto his Clergy; of this title, Lord, not unfitly given to the Bishops, proved; the objections against it answered; six speciall reasons why the King should conferre honours and favours upon his Bishops and Clergy.

Ob. 1. 1. IF you say the *office* of a Preacher requireth the *whole* man, and where the *whole* man is not sufficient to discharge *one*

2. Cor. 2. 16. duty, for ϖϱὸς ταῦτα τίς ἱκανὸς? then certainly one man is never able to supply two charges.

Sol. I answer, that this *indefinite censure* is uncertainly true, and most *certainly* false, as I have proved unto you before, by *many* examples of most *holy* men, that discharged two offices with great *applause*, and no very great *difficulty* to themselves; for though S. *Matthew* could not returne to his trade of Publican, because that a *continued* attendance on a *secular* businesse, would have taken him from his *Apostolate*, and prove an *impediment* to his Evangelique ministration; yet S. *Peter* might returne to his nets, as he did, without blame; because that a *temporary* imployment, and no *constant* secession, can be no hinderance to our Clericall office; when there is no man that can so *wholly* addict himselfe to any kinde of art, trade, or faculty, but that he must sometimes *interchangeably* afford himselfe leisure, either for his recreation, *Ut quemvis animo possit sufferre laborem*; or the recollection of strength and abilities to discharge his office, by the undertaking of some *other* exercise, which is to many men their chiefest recreation; as you see, the husband-mans *change* of labour doth still inable him to *continue* in labour; and the Courtier cannot *alwayes* wait in the same

No man is alwayes able to doe the same thing.

same posture, nor the Scribe alwayes *write*, nor the Divine alwayes *study*; but there must be an *exchange* of his actions, for the *better* performance of his chiefest imployment: and that time, which either some Gentlemen, Citizens, or Courtiers spend in *playing*, hawking, or hunting, onely for their recreation, the better to *inable* them to discharge their offices; why may not the *Divine* imploy it in the performance of any *other* duty, different, but not destructive or contradictory to his more *speciall* function? especially considering that the discharging of those *good* duties, to give *counsell*, to doe *justice*, to relieve the *distressed*, and the like, are more *acceptable* recreations unto them (as it was *meate* and drinke to Christ *to doe his fathers will*) then the other *fore-named* exercises are or can be to any others; and considering also, that where the Bishop or Pastor hath *great* affaires and *much* charge, he may have great *helpes* and much *aid* to assist him. You will allow us an *houre* for our recreation, why will you not allow us that houre to doe *justice*?

Change of labour is a kinde of recreation.

John 4. 34.

2. If you say they are *spirituall* men, and therefore cannot have so great a care of the *temporall* State and Common-wealth.

Ob. 2.

I answer, that as now the *Common-wealth* is the Church, and the *Church* is the Common-wealth, and have as good *interest* therein, and better we hope then many of the *Common-wealth* have in the Church; and they should be as able to understand what is *beneficiall* to the Common-wealth as any other; for *Ignatius* saith, that *Kings* ought to be served by *wise* men, and by those that are of great *understanding*, καὶ μὴ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὑποκρίνεσθαι, and not to be *attended* upon by *weake* and simple men; and if *Kings* must be served by *such* men, then *certainly* the service of *God* is not to be performed by *Weavers* and Taylors, and others like *Jeroboams* Priests; but it will require men of *great* abilities, *learning*, and understanding in *all* businesses whatsoever, such as are *indeed* well able to discourse *De quolibet ente*: And they have very *unprofitably* consumed themselves with their time in their head-pain *vigils*, and heart-breaking *studies*, in traversing over *all* the Common-wealths

Sol. 1. The ability of th Clergy to manage civill affaires.

Ignat. epist. ad Ephes. ὀφείλομεν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἐξαιρέτου τοῦ ἄρχοντος βασιλεύεσθαι δεῖ παρεῖναι.

The Clergy of better abilities to benefit the Common-wealth, then many others that now sway it.

wealths of the world; if they have learned *nothing*, whereby they may benefit their *owne* Common-wealth, or doe understand *lesse* what belongeth unto the *good* of their Countrey, especially in matters of *equity* and right, then *illiterate* Burgesses and meere Chapmen; for if you reade but the bookes of the *Prophets*, you shall finde how plentifull they are in the *precepts* of peace, in the *policies* of warre, and in the best *counsels* for all things which concerne the *good* of the Common-wealth: and doe not the Divines reade the Histories of *all* or *most* other Common-wealths? how else shall they be *inabled* to propose unto their people the example of Gods *justice* upon the wicked, and his *bounty* and favour unto the observers of his Lawes, throughout all *ages*, and in all places of this world? and will you deprive the King of the *assistance* of such instruments for the government of his people, that are stronger then any one man can rule, and would quickly *despise* Heaven, and *destroy* the earth, if their *consciences* were not awed with religion? or would you damme up the *channels* of those benefits that should flow from *them* to the Common-wealth? for it is not the addition of any *honour* to the calling of a Bishop, but the Kings *interest*, and the peoples *good* that is aymed at, when we assert the *capacity* of the Clergy to discharge the offices of the most *publique* affaires; because, as *Petrus Blesensis* saith, it is the *office* of the Bishops to instruct the King to *righteousnesse*, to be a rule of *Sanctity* and sobriety unto the Court, to mixe the influences of *Religion* with the designes of *State*, and to restraine the *malignity* of the ill-disposed people; and all histories doe relate unto us, that when pious *Bishops* were imployed in the Kings *Counsells*, the *rigor* of the lawes was abated, *equity* introduced, the *cry* of the poore respected, their *necessities* releived, the *liberties* of the Church preserved, *pride* depressed, *religion* increased, the *devotion* of the Laity multiplied, the *peace* of the Kingdome flourished, and the *tribunals* were made more just and mercifull, then now they be.

The imployment of the Bishops in civill affaires, is the good of the Common-wealth.

Petrus Blesensis, ep. 84.

And therefore the *sacred* histories doe record of *purpose*, how the *people* of God never adventured upon any action of *waight* and moment, before they had well *consulted* with the Preists and Prophets,

Prophets, as you see in the example of *Ahab*, that was none of the *best* Kings, yet would not omit this *good* duty: and such was the *custome* of all other Countries, wheresoever there was any *religion* or reverence of God; *Qua enim est respub. ubi ecclesiastici primum non habeant locum in comitiis & publicis de salute reipub. deliberationibus?* for which is that Common-wealth, where the *Ecclesiasticall* persons had not the *first* place in all meetings and publique consultations about the welfare of the Common-wealth? as in *Germany* the three spirituall Electors are the first; in *France* the three *Ecclesiasticall* persons were the *first* of all the Peeres; in *England* (till this unhappy time) the *two* Archbishops, and in *Poland* as many, were *wont* to have the chiefest place; and not unworthily, *quia aequum est, antestent in consilio qui antestant prudentia, nec videtur voluisse res humanas, nisi qui divinas cognitas habet*; as the *Indian* said unto *Socrates*: and therefore the *Chaldeans*, the *Egyptians*, the *Grecians*, the *Romanes*, the *French*, and the *Britons*, thought it alwayes *ominous* to attempt any *notable* thing in the Common-wealth, without the sad and sage *advice* of their *Priests* and Prophets; for they knew the *neglect* of God was never left without *due* revenge; and though their false gods were no gods, yet the *true* God was found to have beene a *sharpe* revenger of the contempt of the *false* gods; because that to them they were proposed for the true gods, and they believed them so to be; as *Lactantius* sheweth: and therefore all *antiquity* that bare any reverence to any Deity, shewed all *reverence* and respect unto the teachers of his religion; but now men desire to throw *learning* over the Barre, because it should not discover the *ignorance* of the Bench; or rather *piety* is excluded, because it should not reprove their *iniquity*: And the Clergy must not sit on the seat of *judgement*, that the Laity may doe *injustice* without controule; or perhaps *revenge* themselves upon their Ministers on the Bench, for reproving their vices in the *Church*: so the Devill *gaineth* whatsoever piety *looseth* by their depression.

No Nation attempted any great matter without the advice of their Priests.

Apud Euseb. Papholum, l. 12.

Strabo l. 4. Caesar de bello Gallico, lib. 6.

2. As the Clergy-men are as *able*, so they are as *willing* and as carefull to provide for the *good* of the State, as any other; for themselves

2. The desire of the Clergy to do good to the State.

themselves are *members* of the Common-wealth, and they are appointed by God to be *watchmen* and over-seers, to *fore tell* what mischiefes or felicities are like to ensue, and to *admonish* as well the Prince as the people of such things, as are to be *avoided* and to be *performed*; which they cannot doe, if they be *strangers* from the conscience, and *excluded* from the conference of *such* things that are to be done in the Common-wealth.

The Church of Christ and a Christian common-wealth sayle together.

Therefore, seeing the *good* of the Common-wealth is their *owne* good, and the good of the *Church* is the good of the *Common-wealth*, when a *Christian* Common-wealth and the *Church* of Christ are imbarked in the same vessell, and do sayle *together* with the same *successe*, ayming both at the same *Port*; and God hath commanded his Ministers to be no *lesse* solicitous for the *one*, then the other: it is *incredible* to thinke that a *godly* Minister should have *lesse* care of the Common-wealth, then the *best* of our common Burgo-masters; and it is *impossible* to conceive any *true* reason, why the Bishops and Pastors above *all* others, should be *excommunicated* out of their *assemblies*, and excluded from their Parliaments, and other civill Courts; when it doth most *chiefly* concerne them, to see unto the *welfare* of their flocke, not onely in *such* things as concerne the safety of their *soules*, but also in all other things that may pertaine, either to the *security* of their bodies, or the *quietnesse* of their estates; because this is a thing utterly against the *equall* right of all Subjects, that the Ministers of the Gospell, being *Subjects* unto the King, and *Citizens* of the Common-wealth, should have *nothing* to do in the government thereof, but must be governed, not as *strangers*, that may have admission, but as *slaves*, with an *impossibility* to be received into the civill administration of *any* matter: and their exclusion is as *prejudiciall* to the King and Kingdome, as it is *injurious* unto the Clergy; when they must be deprived of the *grave* advice and *faithfull* service of so *learned* and religious assistants for the government of the people, as the *reverend* Bishops and devout Doctors have ever beene.

A miserable thing, that the Ministers of the Gospell should be made more slaves, then the baseſt calling in the world.

Ob. 3. 3. If you say the sixth *Canon* of the Apostles, the seventh *Canon*

Canon of the Councell of *Calcedon*, and S. *Cyprian* in his Epistle to the Priests of *Furnam*, doe forbid these things in *Ecclesiasticall* persons; and so many *Fathers* have accordingly refused these *civill* imployments and jurisdictions.

Act. 15. S. *Cyprian* punished *Geminium Fanstinum* for undertaking the Executorship of *Geminius Victor*, *ep.* 66. *Sal.*

I answer briefly, that while the Emperours were *Heathens*, and neither the Kings nor their Kingdomes Christian, but their *counsels* were often held for *wicked* ends, *private* gaine, or *privie* deceit, for *bloudy* murders, or *horrid* treasons; the Clergie were *inhibited*, and the godly Bishops were *ashamed* to sit in such *ungodly* assemblies, that would neither be *converted* to Christ, nor *reformed* from their sinnes; and so now, when the *Puritan* faction prevailed in our Parliament, and our *Sectaries* disdained in their counsels, to take the *councell* of Religion, and resolved to banish *God* from their assemblies, to make the *Church* and Church-men a *publique* scorne unto the wicked, and the Common-wealth a *private* gaine to every *broken* Citizen, and every needy varlet; I say *happy* are those Bishops that are excluded, and *well* it is for those Ministers that are *farthest* off from such godlesse and irreligious, not Parliament, but *Parracides*; even as the *Psalmist* testifieth, *Blessed is the man that hath not sate in the seat of the scornefull*; and therefore if they had not beene *excluded*, I am sure, that as the case now standeth, they would have *seceded* themselves.

Good to be excluded from the counsell of th. wicked.

Psal. 1. 1.

But when the *civill* Magistrates became Christians, and the *Christians* consulted with *God* in all their actions, then it was no *indecorum* for the *servants* of Christ to be seene in the Congregation of *Saints*, and to sit as *Judges* among gods, where the judgement shall passe for the *glory* of God; neither is it any *prejudice* to our holy calling, to give unto *Cæsar* those things that are *Cæsar's*, and that we *owe* unto him, as our *service* and our counsells, and whatsoever *else* lyeth in us to do for the *good* of the Common-wealth, as we are his *Subjects* and the Tenants of the Common-wealth: nor doe the *rendering* of these things to *Cæsar* any wayes hinder us to give unto *God* the things that are God's, and that we owe to God, as our *prayers* and our care over Gods flocke, as we are *Christians* and Bishops over the Church of Christ; but the *same* man, if

The giving of *Cæsar's* due doth not hinder us to give to God his due.

he will be *faithfull*, may *justly* performe *both dutyes*, without giving over or neglecting either. And when our men shall *returne* to God, and take him along with them into their *counsels*, and desire the assistance of his servants, (as I hope they will have the grace to doe) I assure my selfe the *Reverend* Bishops will not refuse to doe them service.

Ob. 4. But you will say the *Emperours* were good Christians, when the Councell of *Calcedon* put out their *Canons*.

Sol. I answer, the *Emperours* were, but *all* Kings were not: besides, that *Canon* cleares it selfe; for it sheweth that *Clergymen* did at that time undertake *secular* imployments, *Propter lucra turpia, ministerium Dei parvi pendentes*, for gaine, neglecting their duty; and therefore the Councell forbade all Clergy-men, *negotiis secularibus se immiscere*; because the Apostle saith, οὐδεὶς στρατευόμενος ἐμπλέκεται ταῖς τοῦ βίου πραγματείαις; no man that warreth *intangleth* or insnareth himselfe with the affaires of this life: and so, neither the *Apostle* nor the *Councell* doth absolutely forbid all *secular* affaires, as inconsistent with this function; but as the Councell of *Arles* saith, *Clericus turpis lucri gratiâ aliquod genus negotiationis non exerceat*, so they forbid all Clerkes to *meddle* with any businesse for the love of *gaine*, and filthy lucre, that might *insnare* him to *neglect* his duty: or as the Canon of the Apostle saith, ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος οὐκ ἀναλαμβανέτω, a Bishop should not *assume* unto himselfe, or *seeke* after *worldly* cares, but if either *necessity* or authority impose them on him, I see not how he can *refuse* them; because there is no *absolute* prohibition of such imployments in any place, but as it might be a *hinderance* to discharge his office: or otherwise S. *Paul's* Tent-making was as much against the calling of an Apostle, as the sitting in a *secular* tribunall is against the office of a Bishop; because there is no *reason* we should deny that benefit to a *publique* necessitated community, which we will yeeld to a private personall necessity.

2. Tim. 2. 4.

Concil. Arelat. Can. 14.

The words of the Canon explained.

The *Presbyterians* will be the directors of all affaires.

And so indeed these very men that *cry* out against our Bishops, and other *grave* Prelates of the Church, for their *unfit* medling in these *civill* affaires, doe not only suffer their owne

Preachers

Preachers *to straine at a gnat*, but also *to swallow a Camell*, when M. *Henderson*, *Marshall*, *Case* and the rest of their *new* inspired Prophets shall sitas *Presidents* in all their *Councells* and Committees of their *chiefest* affaires and consultations, either about *Warre* or *Peace*, or of any other *civill* cognizance; how *these* things can be answered, to *deny* that to us, which they *themselves* do practice, I cannot understand, whenas the *light* of nature tels us.

Quod tibi vis fieri, mihi fac, quod non, mihi nolis:
Sic potes in terris vivere jure poli. *

And therefore when as there is no *politique* Philosophy, no *imperiall* constitution, nor any *humane* invention, that doth or can so *strictly binde* the consciences of men unto *subjection* and true obedience, as the Doctrine of the Gospell; and no man can *perswade* the people so much unto it, as the *Preachers* of Gods word, (as it appeareth by this *Rebellion*, perswaded by the false Preachers) because the *Principles* of Philosophy, and the *Lawes* of many nations do permit *many* things to be done against tyrants, which the *Religion* of Christ and the true Bishops of Gods Church do flatly inhibit; it is very *requisite* and necessary for all Christian Kings, both for the *glory* of God, their owne *safety*, and the *happinesse* of the Common wealth, to defend this their owne *right*, and the right of the *Clergie*, to call them into their *Parliaments* and Counsels, and to demise certaine *civill* causes and affaires to the *gravest* Bishops, and the wisest of the ministers; and not to suffer those Rebellions *Anabaptists* and *Brownists*, that have so *disloyally* laboured to pull off the *Crowne* from their Kings head, to bury all the *glory* of the Church in the dust, to bring the *true Religion* into a scorne, and to deprive the King of the *right*, which is so *necessary* for his safety, and so *usefull* for the government of his people, that is, the *service* of his Clergie in all *civill* Courts and Councels.

How requisite it is for Kings to delegate civill affaires unto to their Clergie.

And as it is the Kings *right* to call whom he pleaseth into his Parliaments and Councells, and to *delegate* whom he will to discharge the office of a *Civil* or Ecclesiasticall magistrate, or both, *wheresoever* he appoints within his Realms and Dominions

That it is the Kings right to give titles of honour to whom he pleaseth,

* *Vnde Baldus jubet, ut quisque aliis non aliter judicet, quàm in se judicari vellet.*

ons; so it is *primarily* in his power and authority and his regall *right*, to give titles of honour and dignity to those *officers* and magistrates whom he chooseth; for, though the *Barbarians* acknowledge no other *distinction* of Persons, but of *Master* and *Servants*, which was the *first* punishment for the first *contempt* of our Superiors; therefore their *Kings* do raigne and *dominere* over their Subjects, as Masters do over their servants; and the *Fathers* of families have the same authority over their *Wives* and Children, as over their *slaves* and vassals, and the *Muscovites* at this day *do* rule after this *manner*; neither is the great Empire of the *Turke* much unlike this government; and *generally* all the *Easterne* Kingdomes were ever of *this* kind, and kept this rule over all the Nations whom they Conquered; and many of them do *still* retain it to these very times. Yet our *Westerne* Kings, whom charity hath taught better and made them milder, and especially the Kings of this *Iland*, which in the sweetnesse of government *exceeded* all other Kings, (as holding it their *chiefest* glory to have a free people subject unto them, and thinking it more *Honourable* to command over a *free* then a *servile* nation,) have conferred upon their subjects many *titles* of great honour, which the Learned Gentleman M. *Selden* hath most Learnedly treated of: and therefore I might well be *silent* in this point, (and not to write *Iliads* after *Homer*) if this title of *Lord*, given by His Majesty unto our Bishops, (for none but he hath any *right* to give it) did not require that I should say something thereof: touching which, you must observe that this name *dominus* is of *divers* significations, and is derived *à domo*, as *Zanchius* observeth, where every man is a *Lord* of that house and possession which he holdeth; and it hath relation also to a *servant*; so that this name is *ordinarily* given among the *Latinists* to any man that is able to keep *servants*: and so it must needs appeare, how great is the *malice*, I cannot say the *ignorance*, (when every schoolboy knowes it) of those *Sectaries* that deny *this title* to be consistent with the *calling* of a Bishop, which indeed cannot be denyed to *any* man of any *ordinary* esteeme.

Gen. 9. 25.

Saravia c. 28. p. 194.

The mild government of our Kings.

Of the title of Lord:

But they will say, that it signifieth also *rule* and authority,

and

and so, as it is a title of *rule* and *Dominion*, it is the invention of *Antichrist*, the donation of the Devill, and forbidden by our Saviour, where he saith, οἱ ἐξουσιάζοντες αὐτῶν εὐεργέται καλοῦνται· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως: that is, in effect, *be not you called gratious Lords* or benefactors (which is the proper signification of εὐεργέται) therefore these *titles* of honour are not fit for the *Preachers* of the Gospell, to puffe them up with *pride*, and to make them swell above their brethren. Luke 22.25. οὐχ οὕτως δὲ ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν. Mat. 16.30.

It is answered, that if our Saviours words be *rightly* understood, and his meaning not *maliciously* perverted, neither the *authority of* the Bishops, nor the *title* of their honour is forbidden; for as κύριος is a title of *dominion*, so it is fit to be ascribed to them, unto whom the Lord and author of all *rule* and dominion, hath committed any *rule* or government over his People; and our Saviour forbiddeth not the same; because you may find that there is a *double* rule and dominion, the one *just* and approved, the other *tyrannicall* and disallowed; and the *tyrannicall* rule, or, as S. *Peter* saith κατακυριεύοντες, the *domineering* authority over Gods inheritance, both Christ and his Apostles do forbid; but the *just* rule and dominion they deny not; because they must do it, ὥσπερ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, as the son of man doth it; so the *manner* of their rule, ὥσπερ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν; as the Kings of the nations rule with *tyranny* he prohibiteth; but as the servants of Christ ought to rule with *charity* not with *austerity*, with *humility* and not with *insolencie*, he denieth not; and to he denyeth not the name of *Lord*, as it is a title of *honour* and reverence *given* unto them by the King, and *ascribed* by their people; but he forbiddeth an *ambitious* aspiring to it, and a *proud* carriage, and deporment in it, yet it may be so with you, ὥσπερ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου as it is with the sonne of man, whom no man can exceed in humility; and yet in his greatest humility, he saith, ye call me ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ κύριος, Master and Lord: καὶ καλῶς λέγετε, and ye say well, for so I am *John* 13. 13. And therefore he forbad not this *title* no otherwise then he forbid them to be called *Fathers*, *Doctors*, and *Masters*; and I hope you will confesse he doth not inbibit the *Children* to call them Fathers that beget them, nor forbid us to call them *Doc-*

That there is a double rule or dominion.

1 Pet. 5.3. ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ. ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων.

tors

Eliri, unto whom the *Lord* himselfe hath given the name, διδασκάλων, of *Doctors* in his Church, *Ephe.* 4. 11. otherwise we must know why S. *Paul* doth call himselfe the *Doctor* of the Gentiles, 1 *Tim.* 2. 7. and why doth the Law command us to *honour our Father and our Mother*, if we may call no man Father.

But Christ comming not to *diminish* the power of Princes, not to make it *unlawfull* for Christian Kings to *honour* his servants, which the heathen Princes did to the servants of God, as *Nebuchadnezzar* preferred *Daniel* among the *Babylonians*, and *Darius* advanced *Mordecai* among the *Persians*, not to *deny* that *honour* unto his servants, which their owne boneſt *demerits*, and the *bounty* of their gracious Princes do confer upon them; it is apparent, that it is not the *condition* of these names, but the *ambition* of these titles and the *abuse* of their authourity is forbidden by our Saviour Christ; For, as *Elias* and *Elizeus* in the *old* Test. suffered themselves with no breach of humility to be called *Lords*, as where *Abdias*, a great officer of King *Ahab* sayeth, *art not thou my Lord Elias?* & the Shunamite called *Elizeus* Lord. 4. Reg. 4. 16. So in the *new* Test. *Paul.* and *Barnabas* that rent their cloathes when the people ascribed unto them more then *humane* honour; yet refused not the name of *Lords*, when it was given them by the keeper of the prison, that said, *Lords, what shall I do to be saved?* which *title* certainly they would never have *endured*, if this *honour* might not be *yeelded*, and this title *received* by the Ministers of the Gospell; & S. *Peter* tels us, that Christian women, if they imitate *Sarah* (that obeyed *Abraham* *) whom he propoundeth to them as a patterne, may, and should call their husbands, though meane *mechanicks*, *Lords*; or else he proposeth this example to no purpose; and therefore methinkes they should be ashamed, to thinke this honour may be afforded to poore *Tradesmen*, and to deny it to those eminent *pillars*, and cheife governours of Gods Church. And as the Script. gives, not onely *others* the *like* eminent, and more significant titles of *honour* unto the governours of the Church, (as when it saith they are προϊστάμενοι, presidents; ἡγούμενοι, rulers; κοσμοκράτορες, Princes; as where the Psalmist sayth, *in stead of thy Fathers, thou shalt have*

What Christ forbiddeth to his Ministers.

3. Reg. 18. 11.

Act. 16. 30. κύριε, κύριοι, τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ.

* κύριον αὐτὸν καλοῦσα.

have children, whom then mayest make Princes in all lands, which the best interpreters do expound of the *Apostles* and *Bishops*, that are called the *Princes* of Gods Church, but also giveth and alloweth this *very* title of *Lord* unto them, as I shewed before; so the fathers of the *Primitive* Church did *usually* ascribe the same one to another, as S. *Hierome* writing to S. *Aug.* saith, *Domine vere sancte*, and the Letters sent to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* had their superscription, τῷ κυρίῳ μακαριωτάτῳ, to our most blessed Lord. And *Nazian.* sayeth, let no man speak any untruth of me, nor τῶν κυρίων ἱερέων of the *Lords* the *Bishops*: and in all antiquity as *Theodoret* sheweth, this *title* of Lord is most *frequently* ascribed unto the Bishops: S. *Chrysostome* in Psal. 13. as he is cited by *Baronius*, *Anno* 58. *n.* 2. sayeth that *Heretickes* have learned of the Devill to deny the *due* titles of honour unto their Bishops; neither is it strange, that he which would have no Bishops, should deny *all* honour unto the Bishops; but they can be contented to transferre this honour, though to cover their *hypocrisie* in another title, that shall be as Emperor instead of King, from the *Episcopacie* to the *Presbytery*; so that indeed it is not the *honour* which they *hate*, but the *Persons* of the Bishops that are honoured;

Origen ho. 19. in Matth Hier. in Psal. 45. 16.

Sozom. lib. 3. c. 23.

Nazian. in epc ad gr. Nyssen.

Theodor. l. 1. c. 4. & 5. l. 5. c. 9.

Therefore, though for mine owne *particular*, I do so much undervalue the *vanity* of all titles, that were it not the *duty of the* people to give it, more then the *desire* of the *Bishops to* have it, I should have spared all this discourse; yet seeing it is the *right* of Kings to bestow honors, and it is an argument of their *love* to Christ, to *honour* them that honour God, to magnifie the *order* of their Religion, and to *account* the chiefe Ministers of the Gospell among the *chiefe* States of the Land, I could not passe it over in silence, but shew you how it belongs to him to give this honour to whom he will; and because this dignity cannot be given to *all* that are in the *same* order, it is *wisely* provided by the King, that the whole order of Ministry should be honoured in those *few*, whose *learning* and wisedome he hath had *most use* and experience of, or is otherwise *well* informed thereof; and it is no small wonder unto me, that any *learned* man should be so blinded with this error, as *any* wayes to oppose this truth, or that any *Christian* should be like the sons

The whole order honoured in few.

of *Jacob*, so transported with *envy*, when they see *any* of their brethren made more *honourable* then themselves, for they ought to thinke themselves *honoured* in the honour of their brethren; but that *pride* is such a *beast*, that thinketh himselfe the most *worthy*, and *envy* is such a *monster*, that cannot endure any *happinesse* to any other.

When the Lord Bishops are downe, the Lords Temporall shall not continue long; for as *Geneva* put away their Bishop, their Prince; so the Cantons and *Switzers* put away all Lords. A just judgement of God, that they which will have no spirituall Lords should not be any temporall Lords, but should be as little regarded by their creatures, as they regard the servants of their Creator.

And that which makes me wonder most of all, is to see those Lords, whose *honours* scarce saw the age of a man, and some pretending great *loyalty* to His Majestie, and wishing *happinesse* to His Posterity, so farre yeilding to the *mis-guided* Faction, to darken the *glory* of Gods Church, and to *undervalue* Christs Ministers, as to obliterate that *dignity*, and raze out those *titles* which are inherent to the *Ministrie* from the foundation of the Church, and are ascribed unto the Bishops by the *same* Majestie that honoured them; and for some by-respect and *private* ends to perswade the King, to *desert* the Church, to leave the *Prelates* in the suds, their *honour* to be laid and buried in the dust, and their *revenues* to be devoured by the *enemies* of all godlinesse.

But doe these men thinke that *blessings* come from God, or that this is the *way* for God to blesse the *King*, or themselves, or this Kingdome, to *vilifie* those that honour God, and of whom Christ *directly* saith, *He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me?* for alas, who were *more* favoured, protected, and blessed by God, then *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, and the *rest* of those good Emperours and Kings, that gave most *immunities*, and conferred most *dignities* upon the Bishops and Prelates of Gods Church? because that hereby they *testified* their love to Christ himselfe; and did not God *withdraw* his favour and protection from those Kings and potentates that *neglected* to protect his servants? therefore they cannot wish *well* unto the King, that wish him to give *way* to denude the *Church*, and to desert the *defence* of the Bishops. For, besides *many* other reasons, we finde six *speciall* arguments proving that *our* King, rather then any King in *Europe*, should upho'd his *Clergy*, and confer his *favours* and honours upon them, I say not *more* then upon his nobility, for that would procure

Six speciall reasons, why the King should conferre his favours and honour upon the Bishops.

procure *hatred* unto the King, *envy* unto them, and *ruine* unto all, but as well as upon any other State in this Kingdome. As

1. Not onely the *relation* betwixt them and their Prince, as they are his *faithfull* Subjects, and he their *Soveraigne* King; but as he is the *Lords Annointed*, and the *Defender* of that faith which they teach and publish unto his people; for this *annointing* of him by God for this *end* superinduceth a *brother-hood* betwixt the King and the Bishops, and makes him *quasi unus ex nobis*, and the chiefe guide and guardian of the Clergy; because that hereby he is *mixta persona*, more then a *meere* Layman, and hath an *Ecclesiasticall* supreme government, as well as the civill, and *ut olim sancto unctis sunt, spiritualis jurisdictionis capaces sunt*, as it was said in the time of *Edw.* 3. and therefore as in relation to the *temporalty*, the King is *supremus justiciarius totius Angliæ*; so in respect to the *spiritualty*, he is as *Constantine* stiled himselfe in the Councell of *Nice*, ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐκτὸς, as the chiefe Christian Bishop among his Bishops. 1. Reason.

Rex invnctus non est merus Laicus, Gusmerus, tit. 11. §. 9.

33. Edw. 3. tit. Aide le Roy.

2. Our Bishops and Clergy are *truer* and faithfuller *Subjects* to their Prince, then any other Clergy in Christendome; because the Clergy of *France* and *Spaine*, and other *Popish* States and Dominions, are not *simply* Subjects unto their Kings, but deny *civill* obedience unto their Prince, where *canonicall* obedience commands the contrary; and you see how the *Presbyterie* not onely deny their *just* allegeance, but incite the people to unjust rebellion; but the Bishops and their Clergy *renounce* all obedience to any *other* Potentate, and *anathematize* as utterly *unlawfull* all resistance against our *lawfull* Soveraigne; and in this *hearty* adherence to His Majestie, as they are *wholly* his, so they doe expect favour from *none*, but onely from his Highnesse; and yet *Philip* the second of *Spaine*, notwithstanding he had but *halfe* the obedience of his Clergy, advised his sonne *Philip* the third *to sticke fast unto his Bishops*, even as he had done before him; therefore our King that hath his Bishops so *totally* faithfull unto him, hath *more* reason to *succour* them, that they be not made the object of *contempt* unto the vulgar. 2. Reason.

3. Reason.

3. The state of the Clergy is *constantly* and most *really*, to their power, the most *beneficiall* state to the Crowne, both in *ordinary* and extraordinary revenues of all others; for though their meanes is much *impaired*, and their charges *increased* in many things; yet if you consider their *first* fruits the first yeare, their *Tenths* every yeare, *Subsidies* most yeares, and all other due and necessary payments to the King, I may boldly say, that *computatis computandis*, no state in *England* of *double* their revenue scarce renders *halfe* their payments; and now in the Kings *necessity* for the defence of *Church* and *Crown*, I hope my Brethren the Bishops, and all the rest of the *loyall* Clergy, will rather *empty* themselves of *all* they have, and put it to His Majesties hands, then suffer him to *want* what lyeth in them, during all the time of these occasions.

Or else they are much too blame, and farre unworthy to be Bishops.

4. Reason.

4. They bestow all their *labours* in Gods service, continually praying for blessings upon the head of His Majestie, and his posterity; and next under God relying *onely* upon His favour and protection.

5. Reason. Esay 49. 23.

5. God hath laid this *charge* upon all *Christian* Kings, to be our *nursing fathers*, and to defend the *faith* that we preach; which cannot be done when the Bishops and Prelates are not protected; and God hath promised to *blesse* them, so long as they *discharge* this duty, and hath threatned to *forsake* them when they forsake his *Church*, and leave the same as a *prey* to the adversaries of the Gospell.

6. Reason.

6. Our King hath, like a *pious* and a gracious King, at his Coronation *promised* and engaged himselfe to doe *all* this that is desired of him. And as for *these* and other reasons His Majestie *should*, so we doe acknowledge with all *thankfulnesse* that He *hath* and *doth* His *best* endeavour to discharge this *whole* duty, and doe beleeve with all *confidence*, that maugre all *open* opposition, and all *secret* insinuation against us, He will in like manner *continue* His grace and favour unto the Church and Church governours unto the end. And if *any*, whosoever they be, how *great* or how *powerfull* soever, either in *Kingdome* or in *Court*, shall seeke to *alienate* the Kings heart, or *diminish* His affection and furtherance to protect and promote

Quia non plus valet ad dejiciendum terrena mala, quàm ad eripiendum divina tutela. Cypr.

the *publishers* of the Gospell, (which we are confident all their *malice* cannot doe, because the God of Heaven, that hath built his *Church* upon a *rocke*, and will not turne away his face from his *Annointed*, will so *blesse* our King, that it shall never be with Him as it was with *Zedechia*, when it was not in his power to save Gods *Prophet*, but said unto his Princes, *Behold he is in your hand, for the King is not he that can do any thing against you*;) yet as *Mordecai* said to *Hester*, *God will send enlargement and deliverance unto his Church, and they and their fathers houses* that are against it, *shall be destroyed*; because, as S. *Peter* saith, *we have forsaken all* to become his *servants*, that otherwise might have served *Kings* with the *like* honour that they doe, and we have *left* the world to *build* up his Church. We put our trust *under the shadow of his wings*, and being in trouble *we doe cry unto the Lord*, and therefore *he will hearc our cry and will help us*, and *we shall never be confounded*. Amen.

Jerem. 38. 5.

Hester 4. 14.

CHAP. X.

Sheweth that it is the Kings right to grant Dispensations for Pluralities and Non-residency; what Dispensation is, reasons for it, to tolerate divers Sects or sorts of religions; the foure speciall sorts of false professors; S. Augustines reasons for the toleration of the Jewes; *toleration of* Papists *and of* Puritans; *and which of them deserve best to be tolerated among the* Protestants; *and how any Sect is to be tolerated.*

2. WHereas the *Anabaptists* and *Brownists* of our time, with what *conscience* I know not, cry out that our *Kings* by their Lawes doe *unreasonably* and unconscionably grant dispensations both for *Pluralities* and *Non-residency* onely to further the *corrupt* desire of some few aspiring Prelates, to the *infinite* wrong of the whole Clergy, the *intolerable* dishonour of our religion, the exceeding *prejudice* of Gods

1. That the King may lawfully grant his dispensation for *Pluralities* and *Non-residency*.

Church, and the *lamentable* hazard of many thousand soules, I say, that the *Pluralities* and *Non-residences* granted by the King, and *dispensed* by the lawes of this Land, may finde sufficient *reason* to justifie them? for if you consider the *first* limitation of Benefices, that either *Evaristus* Bishop of *Rome*, or *Dionysius* (as others thinke) did first assigne the *precincts* of Parishes, and appointed a certaine *compasse* to every Presbyter: and in this Kingdome *Hedrius* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was the first that did the like, appointing the Pastor all *charge*, and the portion of *meanes* accrewing from that compasse, to this or that particular person; whereas before, for many yeares they had no *particular* charge assigned, nor any Benefice allotted them, but had their *Canonicall* portions and dividents given them by the Bishop out of the *common* stocke of the Church, according as the Bishop saw their *severall* deserts; for at first the *greater* Cities onely had their standing Pastors, and then the Countrey Villages imitating the Cities, to allow maintenance according to the *abilities* of the inhabitants, had men of *lesse* learning appointed for those places.

In anno 111.

In anno 636.

The first distribution of Parishes.

Pluralities and *Non residency* no transgression of Gods Law.

Therefore this *limitation* of particular Parishes, being meerly positive, and an *humane* constitution, it cannot be the transgression of a *divine* ordinance to have more Parishes then one, or to be absent from that one, which is *allotted* to him, when he is *dispensed* with by the Law-maker to do the same; for as it is not *lawfull* without a dispensation to doe either, because we are to obey *every* ordinance of the *higher* power for the Lords sake; so for the *higher* power to dispense *with* both, is most agreeable to *reason* and Gods truth: for all our *Lawes* are either *divine*, or *humane*: and in the *divine* Law, though we allow of interpretation, *quia non sermoni res, sed rei sermo debet esse subjectus*, because the *words* must be applyed to the *matter*, else we may fall into the *heresie* of those, that as *Alfonsus de Castro* saith, held it unlawfull upon any occasion to *sweare*; because our Saviour saith, *Sweare not at all*: yet no man, King nor Pope, hath power to grant any *dispensation* for the *least* breach of the least precept of Gods Law: he cannot *dispense* with the doing of that which God *forbiddeth* to be done,

Gods Law admitteth an interpretation, not a dispensation of it.

done, nor with the *omitting* of that which God *commandeth*; but in all *humane* Lawes so far as they are meerly *positive* and humane, it is in the power of their *makers* to dispense with them; and so *quicquid fit dispensatione superioris, non fit contra præceptum superioris*, and he sinneth neither against the Law, nor against his owne *conscience*, because he is delivered from the *obligation* of that Law by the *same* authority, whereby he stood bound unto it.

Mans Law may be dispensed with.

And as *he* that is dispensed with is free from all *sinne*, so the *King* which is the dispenser is as free from all *fault*, as having full *right* and power to grant His dispensations. For seeing that all *humane* Lawes are the conclusions of the Law of *nature*, or the evidences of humane *reason*, shewing what things are most *beneficiall* to any society, either the *Church* or *Common-wealth*; and that *experience* teacheth us, our reason groweth often from an *imperfection* to be *more* perfect, when time produceth more *light* unto us, we cannot in *reason* deny an abrogation and dispensation to all *humane* Lawes, which therefore ought not to be like the Lawes of the *Medes* and *Persians*, that might not be changed; and so Saint *Augustine* saith, *Lex humana quamvis justa sit, commutari tamen pro tempore justè potest*, any humane Law, though it be never so *just*, yet for the time, as occasion requireth, may be *justly* changed: *& dispensatio est juris communis relaxatio facta cum causæ cognitione ab eo qui jus habet dispensandi*; and as the *Civilians* say, a dispensation is the *relaxation* of common right, granted upon the *knowledge* of the *cause*, by him that hath the *power* of dispensing; or as the *etymologie* of the word beareth, *dispensare est diversa pensare*, to dispense is to render *different* rewards: and the reward of learning, or of any other vertue, either in the *civill* or the *ecclesiasticall* person, being to be rendered (as one saith) not by an *Arithmeticall*, but a Geometricall proportion; and the *division* of Parishes being (as I said before) a *positive*, humane Law, it cannot be denyed but the giver of *honour*, and the bestower of *rewards*, which is the *King*, hath the sole power and *right* to dispose how much shall be given to *this* or *that* particular person.

Aug. de libero arbit. l. 1.

Dispensation what it is.

The reward of learning and vertue, how to be rendered.

If

Ob. If you say the *Law* of the King, which is made by the advice of his whole *Parliament*, hath already determined what *portion* is fit for *every* one, and what service is required from him.

Sol. I answer, that the voice of *equity* and justice tells us, that a *generall* Law doth never derogate from a *speciall* privilege, or that a *priviledge* is not opposite to the principles of common right, and where the *Law* it selfe gives this *priviledge* (as our Law doth it yet) *envy* it selfe can never deny this *right* unto the King, to grant his *dispensation* whensoever he seeth occasion; and where the Law is *cacise* and saith nothing of any priviledge, yet seeing in all *Lawes*, as in all other *actions*, the *end* is the marke that is aymed at, and this *end* is no other then the *publique* good of any society, for which the *Law* is made; if the *King*, which is the sole *Law-maker*, so, as I shewed in my *Discovery of Mysteries*, seeth this *publique* good better procured by granting *dispensations* to some particular men, doth he not performe thereby what the Law intendeth, and no wayes breake the Law of *common* right? as if a mans *absence* from his proper Cure should be *more* beneficiall to the whole Church, then his *residence* upon his Charge could possibly be, (as when his *absence* may be either for the recovery of his *health*, or to discharge the Kings *Embassage*, or to doe his best to confute *Heretiques*, or to pacifie *Schismes*, or to consult about the *Church* affaires, or some other *urgent* cause that the Law never dreamt of when it was in making) shall not the *King* (whom the Lawes have intrusted with the *examination* of these things, and to whom the principall *care* of religion and the *charge* of all the people is committed by God himselfe, and the power of executing his owne Lawes) have power to grant his dispensations for the same?

The end of every Law is chiefly to be respected.

Reasons of dispensations.

Certainly, they that would perswade the world that *all* Lawes must have such *force*, that all dispensations are *transgressions* of them, (as if *generall* rules should have no exceptions) would *manacle* the Kings hands, and binde his power in the *chaines* of their crooked wils, that he should not be able to doe that *good*, which God, and right, and Law it selfe do give him

him leave; and their *envy* towards other mens grace, is a great deale more, then either the grace of *humility*, or the love of *truth* in them; for doth not God give *five* talents to some of his servants, when he gives but *one* to some others? and did not *Joseph* make *Benjamins* messe five times so much as *any* of his brethrens? and have not some Lords 6, or 8, or 10 thousand pounds a yeare, and some very good men in the Common-wealth, and perhaps *higher* in Gods favour, not ten pounds a yeare? and shall not the King *double* the reward of them that *deserve* it in the Church of God? or shall he be so *curbed* and manacled, that he shall neither *alter* nor *dispense* with his owne Law, though it be for the *greater* glory unto God, and the greater *benefit* both to the Church and Common-wealth?

How God doth diverſly beſtow his gifts. Matth. 25. 15 Gen. 43. 34.

Besides, who can deny, but that some mens *merits*, vertue, paines, and learning, are more worthy of *two* Benefices, then many others are of *one*? and when in his *younger* time he is possessed of a *small* Benefice, he may perchance afterwards, when his *yeares* deserve better, farre easier obtaine another *little* one to keepe with it, then get (what I dare assure you, he would desire much rather *) one Living of *equall* value to them both: and shall the *unlearned* zeale of an *envious* minde so farre prejudice a *worthy* man, that the Kings lawfull *right* shall be censured, and his *power* questioned and clipped, or *traduced* by this *ignorant* Zelot? I will *blesse* my selfe from them, and maintaine it before *all* the world, that the Kings dispensations for *Pluralities*, *Non-residency*, and the like Priviledges, not repugnant to *common* right, are not against *Law*; nor the *giving* or *taking* of them upon *just* causes against *conscience*: but what the violence of this *viperous* brood proclaimeth an *intolerable* offence, we dare warrant both with good *reason* and true *Divinity* to be *no sinne*, no fault at all, but an undoubted *portion* of the Kings *right*, for the greater benefit both of the Church and State, and the greater *glory* unto God himselfe.

* For who would not rather chuse one Living of a 100l a yeare, then two of 50l a peece.

And therefore (most gracious King) we humbly *desire* your Majestie, suffer not these children of *Apollyon* to pull this *flower* out of your royall Crowne, to abridge you of your just *right* of granting *dispensations* for *Pluralities* and *Non-residency* (which

The Authors Petition to his Majestie.

the *Lawes* of your Land doe yet allow you) and which they labour to annull, to darken the *glory* of Gods Church, and to bring your *Clergy*, by depriving them of their meanes and honour into *contempt*; lest that, when by *one* and *one*, they have robbed you of all your *rights*, they will fairely *salute* you, as the Jewes did Christ, *Haile King of the Jewes*, when God knowes they hated him, and stript him of all power, (I speake not of his Divinity) either to governe them, or to save himselfe.

3. The toleration of divers Sects and sorts of religions.

3. As the King hath *right* and power to grant his *dispensations* both of *grace* and of *justice*, of grace when it is meerely of the Kings Princely *favour*, as in legitimations and the like; and of justice when the King findeth a *just* cause to grant it; so likewise it is in the Kings *power* and right to remit *any offence*, (that is, the mulct or penalty) and to *absolve* the offender from any or all the transgressions of his owne Lawes; from the transgression of *Gods* Law, neither *King*, nor *Pope*, nor *Priest*, nor any other can *formally* remit the fault, and absolve transgressors, but as God is the *Law-giver*, so God alone must be the *forgiver* of the offence; so the *Jewes* say, *who can forgive sins but God onely?* Yet, as God which gives the Law can *lawfully* remit the sinne, and forgive the *breach* of the Law, so the King which makes these *positive* Lawes cannot be denyed this power, to *pardon* when he seeth cause, or is so pleased, the offenders of his Lawes; as you see they do many times grant their pardons for the most *haynous* faults and capitall crimes, as treasons, murders, felonies, and the like: And if they may grant their pardons for the *breach* of the Law, and remit the *mulct* imposed for the transgression thereof, it is strange if they should not have *right* to *dispense* with whom they please, when they see cause, from the *bond* of the Law: and therefore we are to discusse how *farre* the King (in these Lawes of the Church) may give *exemptions* and tolerations unto them, whose *consciences* cannot submit themselves to the observation of the *established* Lawes; for seeing all men are not of the *same* faith, nor doe professe the same *religion*, and it is the *nature* of all men to *dissent* from that which themselves will not *professe*, and if opportunity,

Mat. 2. 7.

As *David* pardoned *Absolon*, and *Solomon Abiathar*.

Christ biddeth that the tares should grow. Matth. 13. 30. And the Apostle saith, δεῖ αἱρέσεις εἶναι. there must be heresies; therefore there must be a toleration of divers Sects. 1 Cor. 11. 19.

unity serve to root out that which they dislike; it is requisite it should be shewed how farre a prudent and a pious Prince may grant a *toleration* (the Law *in terminis* not forbidding it) unto any of these *Sects* that may be commorant within his Kingdomes.

Touching which, I say that besides *dissembling* hypocrites, and *prophane* worldlings, that have *no* faith, nor any *other* religion, but the *shadow* of that religion, whatsoever it is, which is profest *wheresoever* they are, there may be in any Kingdome *Jewes, Turkes, Papists, Puritans*, and the like; or to call them otherwise, Idolaters, Heretiques, Schismatiques, &c. And

Foure speciall sorts of false Professors.

1. For the *Jewes*, though they have *many* things in their religion, which will ever *alienate* them from the *Papists*, yet they have free leave to use their ancient Ceremonies in *Rome*, saith Doctor *Whitaker*; and it is *well* known, that many *pious* Princes have permitted them to *dwell*, and to exercise their *owne* religion in this Kingdome; the old *Jurie* in *London* is so called, because it was allotted for their abode; and the Lawes of many *Christian* Emperours have in like sort *permitted* them to do the like in their Dominions, but with those *cautions* and limitations that *Moses* prescribed unto the *Jewes*, to be observed with the *Heathens* and Idolaters that dwelt amongst them; that is, neither to make *marriages* with them, nor to *communicate* with them in their religion. And S. *Augustine* is reported to be *so favourable* towards them, that he alleadgeth *severall* reasons for their toleration. As

1. Jewes.

Whitak. against *Campian*, translated by Master *Stocke*, *p.* 314.

With what cautions the *Iewes* are to be suffered.

Deut. 7. 3. Exod. 23. 32. Doctor *Covell*, *c.* 14. *p.* 199.

1. That *above* and before others they had the *promise* of salvation; and therefore though *some* of the branches be cut off, and the case of the rest be *most* lamentable, yet not altogether *desperate* and incurable, if we consider what the Apostle setteth downe, of their *conversion* and re-unition unto the good *right* olive tree.

1. Reason for their toleration.

Rom. 11. 24, 25

2. That the Prophet *David* speaking of them, made that prayer unto God, *Slay them not, O Lord, lest my people forget it, but scatter them abroad among the Heathen, and put them downe, O Lord, our defence*, for many excellent ends; as *first*, that their being *scattered* among the Christians, might shew

2. Reason.

Psal. 59. 11.

both the *Clemency* and *severity* of God, towards us *mercy* and clemency, and towards them *justice* and severity, which may likewise happen unto us if wee take not heed, as the Apostle bids us, *Be not high-minded but feare*: and *secondly*, that being among the *Christians*, they might the *sooner* at all times by their *charity* and prayers be reduced, the more willingly to imbrace the *faith* of Christ, when as *unwillingly* wee may neither compell *them*, nor take their *children* to be baptized from them. And therefore as the Princes of this Realme, for *divers* causes hurtfull to their State, have banished them out of their Dominions, so if they see good cause to *permit* them (as time may change the condition of things) they may do, as by their counsell they shall be advised, either the one or the other, to *receive* them or *reject* them without offence; because we find no *speciall* precept or direction in Gods Word either to *banish* or to *cherish* them in any Kingdome.

Rom. 11, 20.

Wee may not force the Jewes to believe.

2 Turkes.

2 For the *Turkes*, the reasons are not *much* unlike, though something different, and in my judgement no lesse tolerable then the other, because somewhat *nearer* to the Christian faith; therefore I leave them to the *Lawes* of each Kingdome, to do as the *wisedome* of the Prince shall thinke fit.

3 Papistes.

3 For the *Papists*, the case is *farre* otherwise with them, then either with the Turkes or Jewes; because,

1 They professe the *same* faith, *quoad essentialia* the same *Creedes*, the same *Gospell*, and the same *Christ* as we do.

2 It is not denyed by the *best* of our Divines, but that they together with us do constitute the same *Catholicke* Church of Christ, though they be *sicke* and corrupted, yet not dead; and we strong and sound, yet not unspotted members of the same; as I have more fully shewed in my booke of the true Church.

3 It is not agreed upon by all our Divines, that they are *idolaters*, though they be in *great* errours, and implunged *in many* superstitions; because every Church in *errour*, though never so *dangerous*, is not so desperate as that Church which is *Idolatrous*; or be it granted, (which some of our Protestants will not admit) that they were *Idolaters*; yet seeing not only seaven speciall sort of *heresies*, as 1 the *Sadducees*. 2 the *Scribes*. 3 the *Pharisees*.

Concil. Sigon. l. 5. c. 1 ep. 174.

Pharisees. The *Hemero-baptists*, such as baptized themselves every day. 5 The *Essens*, which *Josephus* calleth *Essei*. 6 The *Nazarites*. And 7 the *Herodians*; whereof some denied the *resurrection*, and the being of *Angels* and spirits; but also *Idolaters* and heathens, that knew not *God*, but worshipped the *Devil* instead of God, were not *inhibited* to dwell and inhabit among the *Jewes*: of whose *Religion* notwithstanding God was so *carefull* to preserve the purity of it, and as *jealous* to keepe them from *Idolatry*, as of any Nation that then or ever after lived upon the earth) it is no question, but if it please the King, *permission* may be granted them to *exercise* their own religion, not publikely and *authoritative*, equally with the Protestant, but quietly, and so as I have shewed in my *Grand Rebellion*; for I am not of their faith, which hold it more *safe*, and lesse dangerous to be conversant with the *Turkes* or *Jewes*, and to have more *nearenesse* with them, then with an *Idolatrous* Church that professeth Christ; because, that where the *greater* distance is from the true religion, there the *lesse* familiarity and neerenesse should be in conversation, and the *greater* distance in communion; therefore as the *wrath* of God was kindled against the *Israelites*, because they had the *Jewes*, their owne brethren, in greater detestation then the *Idumeans* or the *Egyptians*; whose *idolatry* must needs be farre greater, and their *Religion* farre worse, in their owne judgement, then that of the *Jewes*; so we may feare the *like* anger from God, if we will be so partiall in our judgement, and so *transported* with disaffection, as to prefer a *blasphemous* Turke, or an *impious* Jewe, before those men, though *grossely* idolatrous, that do with all *feare* and reverence worship the *same* God, and adore the *name* of Christ as we do.

Grand Rebell. c. 1. p. 5. & 6.

The least familiarity in conversation, where there is greatest distance from truth.

And we read that the Emperour *Justinian*, a right Catholique Prince, as Bishop *Horne* calleth him, at the request of *Theodoricke* King of *Italy*, granted licence that the *Arians*, which denied the *Deity* of our *Saviour* Christ, and were the *worst* of Heretiques, and therefore worse then any *Papist*, should be restored, and *suffered* to live after their owne orders; and *Pope Pius*, for the peace and quietnesse of the *Catholique* Church, requested

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both the *Clemency* and *severity* of God, towards us *mercy* and clemency, and towards them *justice* and severity, which may likewise happen unto us if wee take not heed, as the Apostle bids us, *Be not high-minded but feare*: and *secondly*, that being among the *Christians*, they might the *sooner* at all times by their *charity* and prayers be reduced, the more willingly to imbrace the *faith* of Christ, when as *unwillingly* wee may neither compell *them*, nor take their *children* to be baptized from them. And therefore as the Princes of this Realme, for *divers* causes hurtfull to their State, have banished them out of their Dominions, so if they see good cause to *permit* them (as time may change the condition of things) they may do, as by their counsell they shall be advised, either the one or the other, to *receive* them or *reject* them without offence; because we find no *speciall* precept or direction in Gods Word either to *banish* or to *cherish* them in any Kingdome.

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Concil. Sigon. 4. 5. c. 14. p. 274.

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requested him most *humbly* so to doe, which he did for feare of *Theodoric*, that otherwise threatned the Catholiques should not live.

Ob. But you will say, the fatall *successe* that befell to King *Davids* house for *Solomons* permission of *divers* religions, to be divided into two parts, and the best ten Tribes for two to be given unto a stranger; and the *principall care* of a pious Prince, being to preserve *pure* religion, which is soone infected by *Idolatrous* neighbours, do rather *disprove* all toleration, then any wayes *connive* with them that are of a *different* religion: and if we read the Oration of the league to the King of *France*, wherein that *Orator* numbereth their *victories*, and innumerable successes, whilest they had but *one* religion, and their *miseries*, and all fortunes when they fostered two religions, it will appeare how *farre* they were from allowing a *toleration* of any more then *one* religion in one Kingdome.

Deut. 17, 18, 19.

Sol. Yet to this it may be *easily* answered, that *Solomons* Kingdom was not rent from his posterity for his *permission* of idolaters to dwell in his Kingdome, which the *Law* of God did not forbid; but for that *fault* which his father taxed the Jewes with, *they were mingled among the heathen, and learned their workes*, for his commixtion of *alliances* with strangers, and the *corruption* of true religion, by his *marrying* of so many idolatrous wives, and so becomming *idolatrous* himself, and thereby inducing his subjects the *Israelites* to be the like: and for the *Oration* of the league, there is in that brave *Orator* want of Logicke, *& ignoratio elenchi, non causa pro causa*; for you know what the Poet saith

The true cause of renting *Solomons* Kingdome.

Ps. 106. 35.

——Cuncta successibus apta,
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat:

and we must not judge of *true* causes by the *various* successe of things; and I may say, it was not the professing of *one* religion, but the *sincere* serving of God in that true religion, which brought to *them*, and will bring to others, *prosperous* successe against the infidels: neither was it the *permitting* of two religions, or to speake more *properly*, the diversity of *opinions* in the *same* religion, but their *emulations* and hatred one against another, their *pride* and ambition, and many other consequences of *private*

discords

discords might be the *just* causes of their misfortunes.

4. For the *Puritans*, *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, *Heretiques*, and *Schismaticks*, that are deemed neither *Infidels* nor *Idolaters*, but do *obstinately* erre in *some* points of faith; as the *Arians*, that denied the *Divinity* of Christ, and the *Nestorians* that denied *repentance* to them which sinned after baptisme, and the like *pernicious* heresies; though not all *alike* dangerous; or do make a *Schisme* or a rent in the Church of Christ, as the *Donatists* did in Saint *Augustines* time, and the *Anabaptists*, and *Puritans* do in our dayes; I say these are not to be esteemed and expelled as *deadly* enemies; but to be suffered and respected as *weake* friends, if they proceed not to be *turbulent* and malicious, who then may prove to be more dangerous, both to Church and State, then any of the former sort that professe their religion with *Peace* and quietnesse: for it is not the *Profession* of this or that religion, but the *malice* and wickednesse of the professer, that is the *bane* and poyson of the Church wherein it resteth: for what is *diversity* of opinions in the Church of God, but *tares* among the *wheat*? and our Saviour sheweth, that *the tares should not be plucked up*; but *suffered to grow with the wheat*; to teach us, that in respect of *outward* communion, and civill conversation, all *sorts* of Professors may live together, though in respect of our *spiritual* communion and exercise of our religion, the *Heretique* shall be *cast* forth; and be unto me *tanquam Ethnicus & Publicanus*, with whom notwithstanding I may *converse*, as our Saviour did, with hope that I may *convert* them unto him; which could never be done, if they should be *quite* excluded our company, and *banished* from all holy society.

4. Puritans,

What wrong Professors are chiefly to be suffered &c.

Matth. 13. 29.

Why to be suffered, either for the exercise of the godly, or in hope to convert the ungodly.

And therefore as the *prudent* Prince seeth the *disposition*, and observeth the *conversation* of any Faction, and the *turbulency* of any Sect, so he *knoweth* best how to advice with his counsell to grant his *toleration* to them that best deserve it, not so much in respect of the *soundnesse* of their religion, as their *peaceable* and harmelesse habitation among their neighbours without *railing* against their faith, or *rebelling* against their Prince. And thus, as the case now standeth, there is no Sect, or any

sort of Professors, that for *turbulency* of spirit, *madnesse* of zeale, and *violency* of hatred and persecution to the *true* Protestants, are more dangerous to the *true* religion, and deserve *lesse* favour from their *pious* Prince then these *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and *Puritans*, that have so *maliciously* plotted, and so *rebellionsly* prosecuted their damnable designes, to the *utter* ruine both of Church and State. Doctor *Covell* long agoe, when they were not *halfe* so bad as they be now, saith, they pretend *gravity*, reprehend *severely*, speake *gloriously*, and all in *hypocrisie*; they daily invent *new* opinions, and runne from *errour* to errour; their wilfulnesse they account *constancy*, their deserved punishment *persecution*, their mouthes are ever open to speake *evill*; they give neither *reverence* nor *stiles* to any in place above them; in one word, the Church cannot feare a more *dangerous* and fatall *enemy* to her peace and happinesse, a greater *cloud* to the light of the Gospell, a stronger *band* to pull in barbarisme and poverty into all our Land, a more *pious monster* to breed contempt and *disobedience* in *all* estates, a more fretting *canker* to the very marrow and sinewes of this Church and Kingdome, then this *beast*, who is *proud* without learning, *presumptuous* without authority, *zealous* without knowledge, *holy* without religion, and in briefe a most *dangerous* and malicious hypocrite, and were therefore *banished* from amongst us in the dayes of Queene *Elizabeth*, but now deserve it farre *better*, being more *dangerous*, because farre more numerous*; and therefore I cannot say with S. *Bernard*, *Aut corrigendi ne pereant, aut coercendi ne perimant*; for in our judgements they are *incorrigible*, and in their owne opinion they are *invincible*, having by *lyes* and frauds gathered so much *wealth*, and united such *strength* together, that, *except the Lord himselfe had beene on our side*, and made our very *enemies* the Papists to become our *friends*, and to hazard their lives and fortunes, according to their *duty*, to preserve the Crowne and Dignity of their King, as God most *wisely* disposeth of things, *when he produceth light out of darkenesse*, and against their wills support our true *Protestant* religion from being quite defaced by these *mercilesse* enemies, we might well *feare* what *destruction* would have come upon us.

Doctor *Covell*, *cap.* 15. *p.* 212. His description of the *Puritans*.

And to confirme this description, reade what King JAMES writeth of them in his *Basilicon Doron*, *p.* 160. & 161. and in the Historie of the conference at *Hampton-Court* in *anno* 603. *p.* 81, 82.

* *Haec usque.*

Our factious *Puritans* bitterer against Kings then the *Iesuites*.

And

And therefore considering the *bitter* writings of their Prophets, *old* and *new*, being fuller of *gall* and venome against Christian Kings, then can be found in the bookes of the *Jesuites*; and considering the *wicked* practices, and this unparalleled *rebellion* of these new Proselytes, and the *loyalty* of those that heretofore received *least* favour from the Church, and not *much* from the State: Tell me I pray you which of these deserve *best* to be suffered in a *Protestant* Church? they that *maliciously* seeke her ruine, or they that *unwillingly* support her from falling? for my *selfe*, I will ever be of the true *Protestant* faith; yet for this *loyalty* of the *Papists* unto their King, I will ever be in *charity*, and rest in the same *hope*, though not in the same *faith*, with them: and I doubt not but His Majestie will thinke *well* of their fidelity.

But as S. *Bernard* saith, *Non est meæ humilitatis dictare vobis*, it is not for me to prescribe who are most *capable* of grace, or who *best* deserveth the Kings favour, when his Princely grace presupposeth a sufficient merit, but in humility to set downe mine owne opinion in this point of *toleration*, with submission to the judgement of this Church: wherein also I *humbly* desire my reader not to mistake me, as if I meant such a *publique* and legall toleration, as might breed a *greater* distraction in a Kingdome, then the *wisedome* of the State could well master, and *raise* more spirits then they could *lay* downe; but *such* as I have expreſt in my *Grand Rebellion*; that is, a favourable *connivence* to injoy their own *consciences*, so long as they live in *peace* and amity with their neighbours, but without any *publique* exercise of their religion, which can produce nothing else but *discord*, distraction, and destruction to that *Kingdome*, where two religions are profest in *Æquilibrio*, with the *same* priviledges and authority. *Grand Rebellion, pag. 60.*

These and *many* more are the *rights* of Kings, granted them by God for the *government* of his Church, which they are to *looke* unto, and to *protect* in all her rights, *service*, maintenance, ordinances, governours, and the like, if they looke that *God* should *blesse* and protect them in their *wayes*, dignities, and dues; because it is their *duties* and the *first* charge that God layeth

Esay 49. 23. layeth upon them, *to be nursing fathers unto his Church*: for God knew the *Church* should have many enemies; *& intus est equus Trojanus*, and they are the *worst* that are *neerest* unto Kings, and doe with *Judas* kisse, with faire words, and *Machiavilian* counsels, betray both *Church* and *King*, and in the end destroy *themselves*; for who deceived *Absolon*, though *rightly*, but his own *Counsellor*? who betrayed *Ahab*, and that most *wickedly*, but his lying *Parasites*? and who overthrew *Rehoboam*, and that *foolishly*, but his *young* favourites*? and whom may the *Church* feare *most* of all, but her *dissembling* friends, that are in most *favour* with Kings, and therefore seduce them *soonest*, insensibly to wound the *Care*, and neglect the *Charge* that is laid upon them; because, as S. *Bernard* saith, *Longè plus nocet falsus Catholicus, quam si apertus appareret hæreticus*; those eare-wigs are most *pernicious*, whose counsels seeme to be most *specious*, when they are but as the *spirit of darkenesse*, appearing like an *Angel of light*, when they say, God indeed must be *served*, and the Word must be *preached*, but whether *Bishop* or no Bishop, whether in a sumptuous *Church* or private *house*, whether by an *esteemed* Clergy, or a *poore* meane Ministrie, in *this* manner or in *another* fashion, it skilleth not much; Kings may well enough give *way* to spare

*Which thing is purposely set downe in the holy Scripture, to be a caveat for all Kings, not to rely too much upon young Counsellors; not that wisedome and prudence are intayled to old age, and inseperable from gray haires, or divorced from greene heads; but because commonly experience is the fruitfull mother of these faire issues, and the multitude of yeares teacheth wisedome; for otherwise there may be *delirium senectutis*, the dotage of old age, as well as *vanitas juventutis*, the folly of youth; and as *Elihu* saith, *Great men are not alwayes wise, neither doe the aged understand judgement*: but as *Solomon* saith, *Wisdome*, even in youth, *is the gray haires, and an undefiled life is the old age*; as we see, *young Joseph* was the wisest in all *Egypt*: *Solomon*, *Daniel*, and *Titus*, how *wise*, how *learned*, and how *religious* were they in their *younger* yeares? So *Alexander*, *Hannibal*, *Scipio*, in the fresles of warre; *Lucan*, *Mirandula*, *Keckerman*, and abundance more in all humane learning, that were but *Neophuti annis*, yet were *ætate virtutibus*, young in yeares, yet very admirable for their worth. And Princes doe most *wisely*, when they make such *election*; especially when they are *inforced* to call men to places of *labour* and industry, they must have some regard to the *bodies*, as well as to the *minds* of their servants, and chuse men of *younger* yeares, though not so be their *favourites*, but their *confidents*, according to the *French* distinction; as His *Majestie* hath lately made choice of one *noble* servant, who is (as *Nazianzen* speakes) [illegible] *gray* in the minde, though *yellow* in the head, and supplying in all manner of *excellent* parts, what may be conceived wanting in yeares, whose *name* so much already catched as by *envy*, I shall ever *reverence*, though now I *purposely* passe it over in silence.

that

that *cost*, to lessen that *revenue*, and to pull downe these *Cathedrals*, especially to give *content* unto the people, and to defray the *expensive* charge of the Common-wealth.

But *these* counsels will not *excuse* Kings in the day of their account; therefore let them take *heed* of *such* Counsellors; and when they heare them *begin* to speake against the *Church*, though they *be-guild* their beginnings never so *slily*, let them either *stop* their eares with the Cockatrice, *that will not heare the voyce of the charmer, charme he never so wisely*; or let them *answer*, as our Saviour answered their *grand* instructor, *Vade Satana, non tentabis*; for it is most true, that, *Qui deliberat, jam desivit*; he that *listens* to them is *halfe* corrupted by them; and so they may prove *destructive* both to themselves, and to their *posterity*; for as *nothing* establisheth the Throne of Kings surer, then *obedience* to God; so nothing is more *dangerous* then *rebellion* against God, with whom *there is no respect of persons*; for he expecteth, that as he made Kings his *Vice-gerents*, so they should *feare him*, preserve the *right* of his Church, uphold his *service*, defend his *servants*, and do *all* that he commandes them *intirely*, without taking the *least* liberty for feare of the people, to dispense with any *omission* of his honour, or *suffering* the hedges of his Vineyard, the *governours* of his Church, to be troden downe and torne in pieces, that the *beasts* of the field may destroy the *grapes*, and defile the *service* of our God.

Psal. 58. 5.

Matth. 4. 10.

Rom. 2. 11.

Therefore to *conclude* this point, let all Kings doe their *best* to hinder their people *to corrupt the Covenant of Levi*, which is a *Covenant of Salt*, that is, to indure for ever; let them remember *Moses* prayer; *Blesse Lord his substance, and accept the worke of his hands; smite through the loynes of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him, that they rise not againe*; and let them alwayes consider, that *God taketh pleasure in the prosperity of his servants*.

Malach. 2. 8.

Deut. 33. 11.

Psal. 35. 27.

CHAP. XI.

Sheweth where the Protestants, Papists, *and* Puritans, *doe place Soveraignty; who first taught the deposing of Kings; the* Puritans *tenet worse then the* Jesuites; *Kings authority immediately from God, the twofold royalty in a King; the words of the Apostle vindicated from false glosses; the testimony of the Fathers and Romanists for the Soveraignty of Kings; the two things that shew the difficulty of government; what a miraculous thing it is; and that God himselfe is the governour of the people.*

2. The duty of the King in the government of the Commonwealth.

2. HAving set downe some *particulars* of the Kings right in the government of Gods *Church*, it resteth that I should shew some part of his right and duty to serve God, as he is a *King*, in the government of the *Common-wealth*; touching which, for our more *orderly* proceeding, I will distribute my *whole* discourse into these five heads.

Five points handled.

1. To *justifie* his right to governe the people.
2. To shew the *difficulty* of this government.
3. To set downe the *assistants* that are to *helpe* him in the performance of this duty.
4. To distinguish the *chiefest* parts of this governement.
5. To declare the *end* for which this government is ordained of God.

1. Point. 2. Where the *Protestants* place Soveraignty.

1. We say that the Kings *Soveraignty* or royall power to governe the people, is *independent* from all creatures *solely* from God, who hath *immediately* conferred the same upon him; and this we are able to make good, with *abundance* both of divine and humane proofes: and yet we finde the *same* adversaries of this truth (though with a farre *lesse* shew of reason) that we met withall about the government of Gods Church. For

2. In whom the *Papists* do place Soveraignty.

2. They that are infatuated with the cup of *Babylon*, the *Canonists* and some *Jesuites* doe constantly averre, that *summum*

mum imperium, the primary supreame power of this government is in the *Pope*, *duplicit*; absolutely and directly, as he is the Vicar of Christ, who hath all power given him *both in Heaven and earth*; from whom it is *immediately* derived unto his Vicar, and from him to all *Kings*, mediately by *subordination* unto him: so *Baronius*, *Carerius*, and others. But *Bellarmine* and the rest of the more *moderate* Jesuists say, that this *imperium in reges*, the Popes power over all Kings and States is but *indirectum dominium*, a power by *consequent* and indirectly, *in ordine ad bonum spirituale*, as the civill State hath relation to religion; and this great Cardinall, lest he should seeme *sine ratione insanire*, doth (as the Heretiques did in *Tertullians* time) *Eadem Scripturarum facere ad materiam suam*, alleadge 22 places of Scripture mis-interpreted, to confirme his *indirect* Divinity; and as *Potiphars* wife, he produceth very *honest* apparell, but to prove a very *bad* cause; and therefore attributing to the Pope by the greatnesse of his *learning*, and the excellency of his *wit*, more then he could *justifie* with a good conscience, he was so farre from *satisfying* the then Pope, that he was *well nigh* resolved to condemne *all* his workes for this *one* opinion: and *Carerius* undertooke his confutation *ex professo*, and taxeth him so *bitterly*, that he putteth him *inter impios hæreticos*, which he needed not to have done; because the difference is onely in the *expression*, when the Pope by this *indirect* power may take occasion to king and unking *whom* he pleaseth, and doe what he will in *all* Christian States.

The Pope's sad Message to *Hen.* 3. Imp. *Quem meritum investivimus quare immeritum non devestiamus? quia ad quem pertinet institutio, ad eundem pertinet destitutio.*

Carerius, lib. 1. cap. 5.

3. The *Anabaptists* and *Puritans* either deny all *government*, with the *Fratricelli*, and all *superiority* by the title of Christianity, as the Author of the Tract of *Schisme* and Schismaticks; or doe say that *originally* it proceedeth, and *habitually* resideth in the people, but is *cumulatively* and communicatively derived from them unto the King; and therefore the people (not *denuding* themselves of their *first* interest, but still *retaining* the same in the *collective* body, that is, in themselves *suppletivè*, if the King in their judgement be *defective* in the administration, or neglect the *performance* of his duty) may *question* their King for his mis-government, *dethrone* him if they

3. Where the *Puritans* place the Soveraignty. *Majestas regia fixa est magis in populo, quam in persona regis. Parsons* in *Doleman.*

they see cause, and resuming the collated power into their owne hands againe, may *transferre* it to any other whom they please.

Which opinion, if it were true, would make *miserable* the condition of all Kings; and I beleeve they first learned it from the *Sorbonists*, who to subject the *Pope* to the *community* of the faithfull, say, that the chiefe *spirituall* power was first committed by Christ unto them, and they to preserve the *unity* of the Church remitted the same *communicatively* unto the Pope, but *suppletively*, (not privatively, or habitually divesting themselves thereof) retaining the same still in themselves, if the Pope failed in the *faith* of the Church; and therefore he was not only *censurable*, but also *deposable* by the Counsell, if he became an *heretique*, or apostated from the religion of Christ; and to make this both the more *plausible* and *probable*, they alleaged how Kings were thus *eligible*, and likewise *deposable* by the *community* of the people; for out of this *Buchanan* saith, *Romani Pontifices longè regum omnium conditione superiores, legum tamen pœnis haud eximuntur; sed & eos, quanquam sacrosanctos Christianis omnibus semper habitos, Synodus Basiliensis communi ordinum consensu senatui sacerdotum obnoxios esse pronunciavit*; that is, in briefe, the *Popes* are deprivable by the *Counsell*; So are *Kings* by the *community* of the people: and so both the *Papist* and the *Puritane* doe agree to depose their Kings, and as the Poet saith, *Ausus uterq; nefas, domini respersus uterq;*, *Infontis jugulo.*——

The Sorbonists first taught the deposing of Kings, and why.

Buchan. de jure regni. p. 75. & 91.

Claudian de 4. Consul. Honorii

never a barrell better herring; both alike freinds to Kings.

But to this *Blackwodaus* answereth most *truly*, that although the *Pope* should be *deprivable* by the *counsell*, (which I am sure neither *Pope* nor *Jesuite* will allow) yet for divers *different* reasons betwixt the examples, *Kings* are not *deposable* by their *Subjects*; especially if you cōsider the *great* difference betwixt the *Church* of Christ, that is guided by the *Spirit* of God, and the *representation* thereof in the *flower* of her Clergy, and a *giddyheaded* multitude, that is led by their *unruly* and unreasonable passions, and are represented by *those*, that either *basely* bought their Votes, as the *Consuls* and other great men did the voices of the people

Black. cap. 23. p. 304.

people of *Rome*, or that their *partiall* and most ignorant affection, oftentimes without *judgement*, have made choice of: *ex quo sequitur, ut non sit eadem populi potestas in regem, quæ in pontificem est Ecclesia*: So that the *reason* is farre unlike.

But, though the *Sorbonists*, to justifie their *former* tenet, were the *first* broachers of this *unjust* opinion of the *deposition* of Kings by the people, from whence the *Iesuites*, to subject the King unto the *Pope*, suck't it afterward: Yet in two maine respects I find this *tenet*, as it is held by the *Puritanes*, far worse then the doctrine of the *Jesuites*. The Puritans opinion worse then the Jesuites in two respects

1. Because some of them say that the *people* may not restraine the power, which they have *once* transmitted unto the King: when the Law of *justice* doth not permit, that *Covenants* should be repealed, or a *donation* granted should be revoked, though it were never so *prejudiciall* to the donor: and *Bellarmine* makes this good by the example of the *soldiers*, that had power to accept or reject their Emperour before he was created, but being once *elected* they had no *coactive* power over him: whereas all the *Puritanes* will *make* and *unmake*, promise and breake, doe and undoe at their pleasure. 1 Respect. *Bellar. in tract. cont. Pat. Paul.*

2. Because the *Iesuites* permit not the *people* nor any *Peeres* to depose their King, untill the *Pope*, as an indifferent judge deputed by Christ, shall *approve* of the cause; and our Sectaries depresse Kings so farre, as to submit them to the *weake* judgement and *extravagant* power of the people, who to day cry to *Gideon, raigne thou and thy sonne over us for ever*, and to morrow joine with the *base* sonne of *Ierubbaal* and the *Sichemites* to kill 70 of the Children of *Gideon*, and to create *Abimilech* to be their King. 2 Respect. Judges 9.

But, though the *Anti-Cavalier* take it *ill*, that I should affirme that the Kings power and right unto his government is *immediately* from God; yet if he would beleeve *learned* authors, he might find *enough* of this judgement; for the *sublime* power and authority that resideth in earthly *Potentates*, is not a *derivation* or collection of *humane* power scattered among many, and gathered into one head, but a power *immediately* granted by God to his Vicegerents*, *quam unquam fuisse populo demanda-* Our Opinion proved. Anti-Cav. in Os Offor. p. 25. * So acknowledged by Act of Parliament, 25 H. 8. c. 21. 28. c. 10.

sam

tam legimus, which God never communicated to any multitudes of men, saith *Saravia*.

De Sarav. fol. 175.

And *Bellarmine* himselfe against the Anabaptists confuteth their error, that denyed the power and authority of Kings to be immediately from God; I. From *Script. Sap. 6. Esay 45. Hierem. 27. Dan. 2. Rom. 13. 1. Pet. 2.* II. from the Councell of *Constans. Sess. 8. & 15.* III. from *S. Aug. de civit. Dei. l. 5. c. 21.* where he saith, *non tribuamus dandi regni potestatem nisi Deo vero*; which giveth felicity in the kingdome of heaven onely to the godly, but the earthly Kingdomes he giveth both to the godly and to the wicked; *nam qui dedit Mario, ipse & Cæsari, qui Augusto ipse & Neroni, qui Vespasianis, vel patri vel filio, suavissimis imperatoribus, ipse & Domitiano crudelissimo, qui Constantino Christiano, ipse & Apostata Iuliano*; And IV. it is proved from the confession of the Popes of *Rome*, as *Leo. ep. 38. & 43. Gelasius epist. ad Anastasium. Greg. l. 2. epist. 61. Nicholaus epist. ad Michaelem*: out of all which saith *Irvinus*, it is apparent, all and every King *non multitudini aut hominibus sed Deo soli, regum regi, quicquid juris habent acceptum ferre*; And he might consider that a thing may be said to be *immediately* from God divers wayes, as specially.

Bellar. de Laic. cap. 6. & 8.

Idem de Rom. Pont. l. 5. c. 3.

Irvinus de jure regni. c. 2. p. 40.

1 Ἁπλῶς, *absq; ullo signo creato.*

2 Κατὰ τὶ *cum aliquo actu conjuncto.* that is,

1. *Solely* from God and no other; presupposing nothing *previous* to the obtaining of it; So *Moses* and *Iesus* had their authority from God.

2. *Jointly* with an *interposed* act of some other instrument, as the *Apostolicall* power of *Matthias* was *immediately* from God, though his *constitution* was from the Apostles; so *Kings* though some of them be after a sort elected by men; yet as our Saviour saith to *Pilate*, that his *power* was from *above*, though he was deputed by *Cæsar*; So may they be said to have their authority *immediately* from God; though they should be some wayes deputed by men: for we must distinguish betwixt the *soveraignty*, the *Subject*, and the *collation* of the Soveraignty to the Subject; the Soveraignty is *immediately* from God, the *Subject* is from it's *naturall* causes, and the *unition* of the Soveraignty to the

Heningus fusc. c. 1. p. 4 & 5. de distinct. duplici jurisdict. Sive electione sive postulatione, vel successione, vel belli jure Princeps fiat, Principatum facto divinitus potestas data est. Cumerus, c. 5. de offic. Princip.

the Subject is likewise *immediately* from God, not onely approving but *appointing* the same, in all the Kings of his ordination: or to speake with the *Schooles*, we must distinguish betwixt *deputationem personæ*, and *collationem potestatis*, the designation of the *person*, which is sometimes done by men, & that is where the King is elective, & the donation of the power which is *proper* onely unto God; for so the Psalmist saith, *God hath spoken once and twice; I have also heard the same, that power belongeth unto God:* and the Apostle saith, *the powers that are, are ordained of God*, which is to be understood of the *regall*, or *Monarchicall* power; because Saint *Paules* ὑπερέχουσαι ἐξουσίαι, *higher powers* are interpreted by Saint *Peter*, to be βασιλεῖ ὑπερέχοντι, *Kings* that are *supreme*; where Saint *Peter* makes an excellent *distinction* betwixt the *superiour* and the inferiour Magistrates; the *superiour* is that which Saint *Paul* saith is ordained of God, & the *inferiours* are they which S^t *Peter* calleth δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις such as are *sent* by the King; for the better explanation of which place, you must know that in every King or *supreme* Magistrate, we may conceive a *double* royalty.

Pſal. 62. 11.

Rom. 13. 2.

2. Pet. 2. 13.

Saint *Peters* description betwixt the King and the inferiour Magistrates.

A two fold royalty in a King.

The 1 is *merum imperium*, or *regni potestas, summa & plenissima*; and this *Seuereia*, this fulnesse of power, and *independent* of any creature, and *immediately* received of God, which the Civilians call *jus regis*, or *munus regni*, is in the *person* of the King *indivisible*, not to be *imparted* by the King to any creature; because he cannot *divest* himselfe, *divide* this power, or *alienate* the same to any subject, no not to his owne son, without *renouncing* or dividing his Kingdome; and by this the Civilians say, the King may governe *sine certa lege, sine certo jure, sed non sine equitate & justitia*, without Law, but not without equity: whereupon it is a rule in the *Common* Law, *hoc nunquam rex potest facere, quod non potest injuste agere.* which is to be applied to this inseperable regality of the King; and hath beene often alleadged by other Parliaments to justifie the King from all blame.

1 *Merum imperium.*

How the King cannot doe unjustly.

The 2 is, *imperium dispositivum*, or *jus gubernandi vel jurisdictio* the right of governing, or jurisdiction and distribution of justice; and this may be *derived* and delegated from the King, *legatis vitalitiis*, either for terme of life, or during the Kings *pleasure*. But how?, not *privative*, when the King doth not *denude* himselfe

2 *Imperium dispositivum.*

himselfe thereof, but *cumulativè* and *executivè*, to execute the same, as the Kings Instruments for the preservation of peace and the administration of justice, as it appeareth in their patent; and this *subordinate* power is not *inherent* in their persons, but onely *committed* unto them for the execution of some office: because that when the *supreame* power is present, the power of the *inferiour* officers is silent, it is in *nubibus*, fled into the clouds, and like the *light* of the moone and starres vanishing, whensoever the *Sun* appeareth; for Kings, when they doe transferre any *actuall* power to the *subalternate* Officers, retaine the *habituall* power still in their owne hands, which upon any *emergent* occasion they may *actually* resume to themselves againe, which they could not do, if they parted with the *habite* and forme of this *despoticall* power of government, that they have *immediately* received from God.

How the King delegates his power to his inferiour Magistrates.

The words of the Apostles vindicated from the false glosses of the Sectaries.

Rom. 13. 1.

And, as the *Scriptures* make it plaine, that the Kings *right* and power to governe is *immediately* from God, so they make it as plaine, that it is the *greatest* right and most *eminent* highest power that is on earth; for though the cavillers at this power translate the words of Saint *Paul* ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις, not *potestatibus sublimioribus* or *supremis*, but *potestatibus superexcellentibus*, and say that the word or particle ὡς where S. *Peter* bids us submit our selves to the King, ὡς ὑπερέχοντι, as to the cheife, intends a *resemblance* onely, and not a reall demonstration to prove the King to be the *cheife*; Yet the *malice* of these men, and the falshood of these glosses will appeare, if your consider that the word, ὑπερέχων *habens se super alios*, or ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις joyned with τεταγμέναις to the powers that are *ordained* of God, must needs signifie not any *subordinate* power, but the *supremest* power on earth; because the other powers are directly said by Saint *Peter* to be sent by the King, and the article ὡς doth as *really* expresse the matter there, as in *John* 1. 14. where the Evangelist saith, *and we beheld his glory* δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς, *as the glory of the onely begotten Son of God*. And I hope our Sectaries will not be so *impudent*, as to say that this signifieth but a *resemblance* of the Son of God.

1 Pet. 2. 13.

The testimony of the Fathers for the Soveraignty of Kings.

But to make this point *more* plaine, you shall heare what the fathers and the learned say; for, I. told

I told you before, *Tertullian* saith of Kings and Emperours, *inde potestas, unde & spiritus*, and he is *solo Deo minor*, inferiour to none but God. Saint *Chrysostome* saith, he hath no peere on earth, but is the top of all men living. *Athanasius* saith, there is none *above* the Emperour, but *onely* God that made the Emperour. Saint *Cyrill* in a Sermon upon that text, *I am the vine*, commendeth the *answer* of a King, (whom *Quintus Curtius* affirmeth to be *Alexander*,) that being shot, & his Subjects would have him bound to pull out the arrow, said, *non decet vinciri Regem*, *Bern. Tract. at. de pass. Dom. c. 4.* it becomes not Kings to be bound, because none is *superiour* unto them: *Agapetus*, a Deacon of *Constantine*, saith as much; and because it is a rule in the *Civill* Law, *testem quem quis inducit pro se tenetur recipere contra sese*: the testimony of our *adversaries* is most convictive; therefore I beseech you heare what they say; for *Rosellus* a great Catholique saith, it is hereticall to affirme, that the *universall* administration of the *temporall* affaires is or must be in the *Pope*, when the King hath no *superiour* on earth, but the *Creator* of heaven and earth. *Canius* also saith, that the Apostle, *Rom. 13.* spake of the *Regall* and secular power, and not of the *Ecclesiasticall*; and *Cassanens* saith, that Kings are the *highest* and most paramount secular power and authority that ever God appointed on earth, and denies that either the *old* or the *new* Testament makes any mention of an *Emperour & juris utriusque testimonia manifestè declarant imperialem dignitatem & potestatem immediatè a filio Dei ab antiquo processisse*, said *Philip* King of *France in Constit. de potest. elect. Imperat. Irvin. p. 33, 34, 35.* quoteth many authors to confirme the same truth: *Lombard*, *Gratian*, *Melanchon*, *Cranmer*, *Tyndall*, and abundance more without *number* do likewise most peremptorily affirme, that the Kings power is the *supreme* power on earth: and as the mirror of our time, the Bishop of *Winchester*, observeth, the Scripture testifieth, that their *Throne*, their *Crowne*, their *Sword*, their *Scepter*, their *Judgement*, their *Royalty*, their *power*, their *Charge*, their *Person*, and all in them are *of* God, *from* God, and *by* God; to shew how *sacred* they are, and ought to be unto us all; and so the very Heathens teaching *sounder*

Tertul. ad Scap. & in apologet. c. 30. Iren. adver. haeres. Valent. l. 3. c. 20. Optat. contr. Parmen. l. 3. βασιλεὺς κρατεῖ καὶ κρατεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπιόντων. Chrysost. tom. 6. orat. 40. orat. 2. Aug. de civit. Dei. l. 5. c. 21. Q. Curtius l. 9.

Cassani Catal. glor. mundi p. 8. consider. 28. Card. Cusan. concord. Catbol. l. 3. c. 3. Vide Arnisæ. p. 3. de dist. dupl. investit.

Divinity then our Sectaries thought, and said, that Kings were διοτρεφεις, and ὑπηρεται θεου, the Ministers of God, and not the servants of the people.

Homer. Plutarch. Ovid Fast. l. 5. Quia a love nutriti & ab eo regnum adepti sunt. Scapula in verbo διοτρεφης.

Good God! what shall we say then to those children of *Adam*, that will not onely with *Adam* be content to be *like* God, but with *Antichrist*, this δηριον πολυκεφαλον, * as *Plato* calleth them, will exalt themselves *above all that is called God?* They will *divest* the King, and *invest* themselves with his right; and therefore,

* Many headed beast.

2. This sheweth how *difficult* a thing it is to rule and governe this *unruly*, aspiring, and ambitious multitude: for the fuller understanding of which difficult duty, *Osorius* saith, that two things are to be considered.

3. The difficulty of governement.

1. *Suscepti muneris amplitudo*, the greatnesse of the charge, which is of that *weight*, that we can scarce thinke of a *greater* in all our life; the care of *Church* and *Common-wealth*, and to rule *millions* of men farre and neare.

2 Things shewing the difficulty of governement.

2. *Gubernandorum qualitas*, the quality and conditions of those men that are to be governed; which (if there were *nothing* else to prove it) will sufficiently shew the *difficulty* of their government; for if it be a very hard thing to governe a mans *selfe*, how much harder is it to governe such a *multitude* of mad men? for *Cicero* saith, the multitude is the *greatest* teacher of errour, the *unjustest* judge of dignity, being without *counsell*, without *reason*, without *judgement*; and *Plutarch* calleth them *pessimam veritatis interpretem*, whereunto agreeth the answer of that Pope, who being demanded what was *furthest* from truth, answered, *populi sententia*, the opinion of the people; and as they are the *weakest* for judgement, so they are most *instable* in their resolutions; to day crying *Hosanna*, and to morrow *Crucifige*; this is the *nature* of the people, of whom these our *Sectaries* are the very *dregs*, the worst and the basest of all: I must crave leave to set downe what *Osorius* saith of them long agoe, and you may finde that this *rebellion* proves his words most true: for he saith, the *desire* and end of this *faction* is too much *liberty*, then which nothing can be more *averse* to the office and government of Kings; for it is the *duty*

Cicero. Tusc. & de finibus lib. 2. Plutarch. in Alcibiad.

Osorius his description of the factious *Puritans*, most plainly seene verified in our Rebels.

of

of a King to cut off all *haynous* offences with just punishments, the *unbridled* people desires to be *free* from all feare of punishment; the *King* is the *Minister* of the Law, the *Keeper* of it, and the *avenger* of the transgression thereof, the *people* as much as possibly they can, with an *impetuous* temerity, pulleth downe all Lawes; the *King* laboureth to preserve *peace* and quietnesse, the *people* with an *untameable* lust turmoileth and troubleth the peace of all men: lastly, the *King* thinkes not fit to distribute *rewards* and compensations indifferently to all men *alike*, but the *people* desire to have all *difference* of worth and dignity taken away, *& infima summis permisceri*, and to make the *basest* equall with the *best*, whence it happeneth so, that they *hate* all Princes, and especially all Kings, *quos immani odio persequuntur*, whom they persecute with a deadly hate; for they cannot endure any *excellency* or dignity: and to that end they use all endeavour, *ut principes interimant, vel saltem in turbam conjiciant*, either utterly to take away and destroy their Princes, or to implunge them into a *world* of troubles; which thing at *first* doth not appeare, but when the multitude of *furious* men hath gathered strength, then at *last* their impudent boldnesse, being confirmed by *daily* impunity, breaketh forth to the destruction of the *royall* Majestie. And a little after he saith, adde to these things the *abolition* of Lawes, the *contempt* of Rule, the *hatred* of royall Majestie, and the *cruell* lying in wait, which they most *impiously* and nefariously do endeavour, for their Princes: adde also their *clandestine* and secret discourses, where their confederacies are made for the *extirpation* of their Kings, and to plot with *unspeakable* mischiefe the *death* of them, whose *health* and safety they ought most *heartily* to pray to God for: and then he addeth, *cum immodica libertatis cupiditate rapiantur, leges oderunt, judicia detestantur, regum majestatem extinctam cupiunt, ut licentius & impunius quovis per omnia libidinum genera vagari*; and this is most manifest (saith he) all their *endeavours* ayme at this end, that Princes being taken away, they may have an *uncontroulable* leave and liberty to commit *all kinde* of villanies; and to that purpose they have *poysoned* some Kings, and *killed* others with

Osorius in op. Reginæ Elizabethæ præfat. l. de relig.

Paginâ 24. & 25.

Revera mihi videtur esse ars artium, hominem regere, quæ certè est inter omnes animantes maximè & moribus varium, & voluntate diversum. Nazian. in Apol.

the sword, and to root out all rule, *Consilia plena sceleris ineierunt*, they are full of all wicked counsels.

And therefore this being the *condition* of the people, as the Scripture sheweth *plainly* in the *Jewes*, by their *continuall* rebellions and murmurings against *Moses* and *Aaron*; and we see it as plainly in our *owne* time, when our people hath confirmed *all* that this Bishop said; it is not an *easie* matter to governe such an *unruly* people: But we finde that the *rod* of government is a *miraculous* rod, that being in *Moses* hand was a *faire* wand, but cast unto the ground turned to be an *ugly* and a poysonous Serpent; to shew that the *people*, being subject to the *hand* of government, is a *goodly* thing, and a glorious society; but let *loose* out of the Princes hands, they are as *Serpents*, crooked, wriggled, *versipelles*, and as full as may be of all deadly poyson: and the Prophet *David* makes the *ruling* of the people to be as great a *miracle*, as to appease the raging of the Seas; and therefore he ascribes this government to be the *proper* worke of God, when speaking unto God, he saith, *Thou ruleſt the rage of the Seas, the noyſe of his waves, and the madneſſe of the people*; for Kings are but Gods *instruments*, and God himselfe is the *ruler* of his people, even as the same King *David* sheweth, saying still to God, *Tu deduxisti populum tuum*, Thou leadest thy people like sheep by the hands of *Moses* and *Aaron*; God was the *leader*, and they were but the *hands* by which he led them; for where God hath not a *hand* in the government of the people, it is impossible for the *best* and most politique heads to doe it: and this *Solomon* knew full well, when God bade him aske what he should give him, and he said, *Thou hast made me King*, (he doth not say the *people* hath made me) *and I know not how to goe out or in*; that is, *to governe them*: therefore *I pray thee, give thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discerne between good and bad: for who is able to judge this thy so great a people?* that is, what *one* man is able to governe an *innumerous* multitude of men? *Thou* therefore must be the governour, and I am but thine *instrument*; and that I may be a *fit* instrument to doe thy worke, I desire thee to give me a *docible* heart.

A people well governed very glorious.

Pſal. 65. 7.

God is the governour, and Kings are but Gods instruments.

Pſal. 77. 20.

1 Kings. 3. 7. 9.

Wherefore,

Wherefore, O you Subjects without *obedience*, and you Divines without *Divinity*, how dare you put any *instrument* into Gods hands, and refuse, nay *reject* the instrument that he chuseth, for the performance of his *owne* worke, to rule the people? you may as well refuse God *himselfe*, even as God saith unto *Samuel*, *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me*; so you that doe *rebell* and cast away your *King* that God hath chosen, as his *hand* to guide you, and his *instrument* to governe you, I pronounce it to all the world you have *rebelled* against God, and you have cast *away* your God; for the rule of Christ must stand infallible, he that *rejecteth* (or despiseth) him that is *sent*, rejecteth *him* that sent him.

They that reject their King, reject God.

1 Sam. 8. 7.

ὁ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν, ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με. Luke 10. 16.

CHAP. XII.

Sheweth the assistants of Kings in their government; to whom the choyce of inferiour Magistrates belongeth; the power of the subordinate officers; neither Peeres nor Parliament can have supremacy; the Sectaries chiefest argument out of Bracton *answered; our Lawes prove all Soveraignty to be in the King; the two chiefe parts of the regall government; the foure properties of a just Warre; and how the Parliamentary Faction transgresse in every property.*

3. SEeing it is so *hard* and difficult a matter, *ars artium gũberuare populum*, the Mistresse of all Sciences, and the most dangerous of all faculties to governe the people, that *Saturninus* said truly to them that put on his Kingly ornaments, they knew not what an *evill* it was to rule, because of the *many* dangers that hang over the rulers heads, which under the seeming shew of a *Crowne* of *gold*, doe weare indeed a *Crowne* of *thornes*; therefore, *ut raro eminentes vires non magnis adjutoribus ad gubernandam fortunam suam usus inveniet*, saith *Paterculus*; as great men, of a *wealthy* and vast estate, are seldome

3. The assistance that God alloweth unto Kings to help them in their government, of two sorts,

done without great *counsell* to assist them to *governe*, and to dispose of that great fortune; so Kings having a *great* charge laid upon them, are not onely *permitted*, but advised and counselled by God, to have

1. Wise Counsellors,

1. Faithfull and wise Counsellors to direct them
2. Subordinate Magistrates to assist them

} in the government of the people.

Tacit. annal. lib. 2.

1. *Tacitus* (as I said before) saith, *There cannot be an argument of greater wisedome in a Prince, nor any thing of greater safety to the Common-wealth, then for him to make choyce of a wise and religious Counsell*; because the most *waighty* labours of the Prince doe stand in need of the *greatest* helpes: therefore *Agamemnon* had his *Nestor* and *Chalcas*; *Augustus* had *Mecœnas* and *Agrippa*, two wise Counsellors, to direct him in all his affaires; *David* had *Nathan*, *Gad*, *Achitophell*, and *Husai*; and *Nebuchadnezzar* had *Daniel*, *Shadrac*, *Mesac*, and *Abednego*: and so all other Kings in all Nations do chuse the wisest men, that they conceive, to be their Counsellors.

Dionys. Halicar. lib. 2.

2. Subordinate Magistrates.

2. For *subordinate* Magistrates, *Jethro's* counsell unto *Moses*, and *Moses* hearkning unto him, as to a wise and faithfull Counsellor, makes it plaine, how necessary it is for the *supreme* Magistrate to chuse such *assistants*, as may beare with him some *part* of the great burthen of government. Thus farre it is agreed upon on all sides, but the *difference* betwixt *us* and our new *State-Divines*, consisteth in these two points.

A twofold difference.

1. About the choice
2. About the power

} of these officers. For

1. About the choice of inferiour Magistrates and Officers.

1. We say that by the Law of *nature*, every *master* hath right to chuse his owne *servants*; this is *Lex gentium*, ever *practiced* among all Nations; why then should not the King make choice of his owne *Counsellors* and Servants? they will say, because he is the servant of the *Common-wealth*: But how is that? I hope none otherwise then the *Minister* is the servant of the Church, *for Christ his sake*; and shall he therefore that is your *King*, lose the priviledges of a *common* Subject? Besides, hath not God committed the charge of his *people* into

δοῦλοι ὑμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦν. 2. Cor. 4. 5.

the

the Kings hand, and will he not require an *accompt* of him of their government? how then shall he give an account to God when the government is taken *out* of his hands, and *subordinate* officers and servants *put* upon him? I am sure, when the 70 *grand* Senators of *Israel*, the great *Sanhedrim* of the *Jewes* were to be chosen; *Jethro* saith unto *Moses*, *Thou shalt provide out of the people able men*: marke I pray you, *thou* and not the *people*, shalt provide them; neither shall you find it otherwise in any Historie: *Pharaoh*, and not his *people*, made *Joseph* ruler over all the land of *Egypt*. *Nebuchadnezzar*, and not his *people*, made *Daniel* ruler over the whole Province of *Babylon*: and *Darius* set over his Kingdome a hundred and twenty Princes, and made *Daniel* the *first* of the three presidents that were over all these. And what shall I say of *Ahasuerus*, and all other Kings, Heathens, Jewes, or Christians, that *ever* kept this power, to chuse their *owne* servants, Counsellors, and Officers, except they were infant Kings, in their nonage, and so not able to chuse them. Exod. 18. 21. Gen. 41. 41. Dan. 2. 48. Cap. 6. 1, 2. All Kings chuse their owne Officers.

But you will say that our Histories tell you, how *Rich.* 2. *Edw.* 2. and others of our Kings, had their Officers *appointed*, and themselves committed unto *Guardians* by the Parliament; therefore why may not our Parliament do the like in case of *male-administration*? Ob.

I answer, that I speake of the *right* of Kings, and not justifie the *wrongs* done to Kings. *Adramelech* and *Sharezer* killed *Sennacherib* their owne father; is it therefore lawfull for *other* children so to doe? Why should we therefore alleadge those things, *Quæ insolentia populari, quæ vi, quæ furore, non ad imitationem exempla proponenda, sed justo legum supplicio vindicanda sunt*; which should rather have beene revenged by the just punishment of the Law, then proposed to be imitated by the example? Sol. 2. Reg. 19. 37.

Therefore I say, that whosoever *abridgeth* the King of this power, *robbeth* him of that *right* which God and nature hath allowed him: whereby you may judge how justly the Parliamentary faction would have dealt herein with our King, by forcing Counsellors and great Officers upon him; but I hope

you see it is the Kings *right* to chuse his Servants, Officers, and Counsellors; what *manner* of men he should chuse, *Jethro* setteth downe. And I have most *fully* described the *qualities* and conditions that they should be indued withall in my *True Church*.

True Church. lib 6. c. 4. &c.

2. Difference, about the power of the subordinate Magistrates.

2. As our *Sectaries* differ much from the true Divines, about the *choyce*, so they differ much more about the *power* of these *subordinate* Officers, and *inferiour* Magistrates; for we say, they are alwayes to be *obedient* to the *supreme* power: or otherwise, *ejus est deponere, cujus est constituere*, he can displace them that hath appointed them; or if you say no, because I cited you a place out of *Bellarmine*, where he saith, the Souldiers had power to *refuse* their Emperour while he was *in fieri*, to be elected; but not when he was *in facto*, fully chosen and made Emperour; so the King hath power to *chuse* them, but not to *displace* them. I answer briefly, that in *creating* or constituting our inferiours, we may; but our superiour we may not: because *inferiours*, in the judgement of all men, have no jurisdiction over their *superiours*. And therefore *elective* Kings are not deposeable in a *Monarchicall* government, where the *supreme* power resides in the *Monarch*; though perhaps the Kings of *Lacedemon* might be *justly* deposed, because by the *constitution* of their Kingdome, the *supreme* power was not in their *Kings*, but in their *Ephori*.

None can depose him in whom the supreme Majestie resideth.

But our new Sectaries out of *Junius Brutus*, *Burcher*, *Althusius*, *Knox* and *Cartwright*, teach very *devoutly*, but most falsely, that in case of *defailance* to doe his duty, they may with the *Tribunes* of *Rome*, or the *Demarchi* at *Athens*, censure and depose him too, if they see just cause for the same.

Blacwod. l. 33. p. 285.

To confute which *blasphemous* doctrine against God, and so pernicious and *dangerous* to this State, though *others* have done it very *excellently* well already, & I have *formerly* shewed the absurdity of it in my *Grand Rebellion*; yet, because *all* books come not to every hand, I will say *somewhat* of it in this place. If these *Counsellors*, Magistrates, Parliament, call them what you will, have *any power* and authority, it must be either subordinate, coordinate, or supreme.

Grand Rebellion, c. 7. p. 52.

1. If

1. If *subordinate*, I told you before they can have no power over their *superiour*, because all *inferiour* Magistrates are Magistrates onely, in respect of those that are *under* their jurisdiction; because to them they *represent* the King, and supply the *office* of the King; but in reference to the King, they are but *private* persons and Subjects, that can challenge no *jurisdiction* over him.

1. Subordinate officers can have no power over their superiours.

2. If they be *supreme*, then S. *Peter* is much mistaken, to say the *King* is supreme; and they doe ill to *disclaime* this supremacy, when in all their Petitions, (not *disjunctively*, but as they are an *united* body) they say, *Your Majesties humble Subjects the Lords and Commons in Parliament*: and besides, they are *perjur'd* that deny it, after they have taken the *Oath* of supremacy, where every *one* saith, *I A. B. doe utterly testifie and declare in my conscience, that the Kings Highnesse is the onely supreme Governour of this Realme, &c.* But this is *further*, and so fully proved out of *Bracton*, the nature of all the Subjects *tenures*, and the *constitution* of this government, by the Author of *The unlawfulnesse of Subjects taking up Armes against their Soveraigne*, that more needs not be spoken to any rationall man. Yet because this *point* is of such *great* concernement, and the *chiefest* argument they have out of *Bracton*, is, that he saith, *Rex habet superiorem, legem, curiam suam, comites, Barones; quia comites dicuntur, quasi socii regis, & qui habet socium habet magistrum*; *& ideo si rex fuerit sine fræno, id est, sine lege, debent ei frænum ponere, nisi ipsimet fuerint cum rege sine fræno*: and all this makes just *nothing* in the world for them, if they had the *honesty* or the *learning* to understand it right; for what is above the King? the *Law*, and the *Court* of Earles and Barons; but *how* are they above him? as the *Preacher* is above the King, when he preacheth unto him; or the *Physician* when he gives him Physicke; or the *Pilot* when he sayleth by Sea; that is, *quoad rationem consulendi, non cogendi*, they have *superioritatem directivam, non coactivam*; for so the *teacher* is above him that is taught, and the *Counseller* above him that is counselled; that is, by way of *advice*, but not by way of *command*; and to shew you that this is *Bractons* true

2. That neither Peeres nor Parliament can have the supremacy. None above the King at any time.

The Sectaries chiefest argument out of *Bracton* fully answered.

How the Law and the Court of Barons is above the King.

true meaning; I pray you consider his words; *Comites dicuntur quasi socii*, they are as his fellowes or Peeres, not *simply*, but *quasi*: and if they were *simply* so, yet they are but *socii*, not superiours; and what can *socii* doe? not *command*, for *par in parem non habet potestatem*, that is, *præcipiendi*; otherwise, you must confesse, *habet potestatem consulendi*: therefore *Bracton* addes, *qui habet socium habet magistrum*, that is, a *teacher*, not a *commander*; and to make this yet *more* plaine, he addes, *Si Rex fuerit sine fræno, id est, sine lege*, if the King be without a bridle, that is, saith he, (lest you should mistake what he means by the bridle, and thinke he meanes force and armes) the *Law*; they ought to put this *bridle* unto him, that is, to *presse* him with this *Law*, and still to shew him his duty, even as we doe both to King and people, saying, this is the *Law*, this should *bridle* you; but here is not a word of *commanding*, much lesse of *forcing* the King; not a word of *superiority*, nor yet simply of *equality*; and therefore I must say, *hoc argumentum nihil ad rhombum*: these do abuse every author.

3. That neither Peeres nor Parliament are co-ordinate with the King.

3. If their ἐξουσία, (I speake not of δύναμις, their naturall strength and power) but of their *right* and authority, be *co-ordinate* and *equall* with the Kings authority, then (whether given by *God* (which they cannot prove) or by the *people*) there must be *duo summa imperia*, two *supreme* powers, (which the Philosophers say cannot be; *nam quod summum est unum est*, from whence they prove the *unity* of the God-head, that there can be but one God) and if this *supreme* power be *divided* betwixt King and Parliament, you *know* what the Poet saith,

Omnésque Philosophi & jurisconsulti ponunt summum in eo rerum genere quod dividi non possit, Lactant. l. 1. c. 3.

——Omnísque potestas,
Impatiens consortis erit,——

Or you may remember what our Saviour saith, *If a Kingdome be divided against it selfe it cannot stand*; ἐὰν δὲ βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἡ βασιλεία ἐκείνη. Marc. 3. 24. and therefore when *Tiberius*, out of his wonted *subtility*, desired the Senate to appoint a *colleague* and partner with him, for the better administration of the Empire; *Asinius Gallus*, that was desirous enough of their *Pristine* liberty, yet understanding well with what *minde* the subtle foxe spake, (onely to descry his ill wilers) after some jests answered seriously, ἀδύνατον τὴν ἀρχὴν διαιρεθῆναι,

axiome, that government must not be divided; because you can never have any *happinesse* where the power is *equally* divided in two parts, when according to the well knowne *axiome* to every one, *Par in parem non habet potestatem.* But to make the matter *cleare*, and to shew that the *Soveraignty* is inseperably inherent in the *person* of His Majestie, we have the whole *current* of our very Acts of Parliament acknowledging it in these very termes, *Our Soveraigne Lord the King*; and the Parliament, 25. *Hen.* 8. saith, *this your Graces Realme, recognizing no superiour under God, but your Grace, &c.* And the Parliament 16. *Rich.* 2. 5. affirmeth the Crowne of *England* to have beene so *free* at *all* times, that it hath beene in no *earthly* subjection, but *immediately* to God, in all things touching the *regality* of the said Crowne, and to none other. And in the 2. of *Hen.* 5. the Parliament declareth, that it belongeth to the Kings *regality, to grant or deny what Petitions in Parliament he pleaseth*: and so indeed whatsoever *authority* is in the constant *practice* of the Kingdome, or in the *knowne* and published Lawes and Statutes, it concludeth the *Soveraignty* to be fixed in the King, and all the Subjects *virtually* united in the *representative* body of the Parliament, to be obliged in *obedience* and allegeance to the *individuall* person of the King: and I doubt not but our *learned* Lawyers can finde *much* more proofe then I doe, out of their Law to this purpose. And therefore seeing *divers* supreme powers are not *compatible* in one State, nor allowable in our State; the conceit of a *mixed* Monarchie is but a fopperie, to prove the *distribution* of the supreme power into two sorts of governours, *equally* indued with the same power; because the *supreme* power, being but one, must be placed in one sort of governours, either in one numericall *man*, as it is in *Monarchie*; or in one specificall kinde of men, as the *optimates*, as it is in *Aristocratie*; or in the *people*, as in *Democratie*; but if by a *mixed* Monarchie you meane that this supreme power is not *simply* absolute, *quoad omnia*, but a government limited and regulated, *κατὰ νόμον*, we will not *much* quarrell with our Sectaries; because His Majestie hath *promised*, and we are sure he will *performe* it, to governe his people according to the *Lawes* of this Land.

The Case of our Affaires. p. 19, 20.

The Lawes of our Land acknowledge all Soveraignty in th. King.

μοναρχία μοναρχία.

And

They deserve not to live in th' Kingdome that diminish the supremacy of the King.

And therefore they that would *rob* the King of this *right*, and give any part of his *supreme* power to the *Parliament*, or to any of all his *inferiour* Magistrates, deserve as well to be *expelled* the Kingdome, as *Plato* would have *Homer* to be *banished*, for bringing in the Gods fighting and disagreeing among themselves; when as *Ovid*, out of him, saith,

Jupiter in Trojam, pro Troja stabat Apollo:

Because, as the Civilians say, *Naturale virium est negligi, quod communiter possidetur, utique se nihil habere putet qui totum non habeat, & suam partem corrumpi patiatur, dum invidet alienæ:* and therefore the same *Homer* treating of our humane government, saith, οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς:——

Nec multos regnare bonum, rex unicus esto. Arist. Metaph. lib. 12.

which *Aristotle* doth so infinitely commend, where he disputeth, περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης συστάσεως; and so doth *Plato* and all the wise Philosophers that followed after: because, as the Poët saith, ——*Summo dulcius unum*

Stat. Thebaid. lib. 1.

Stare loco: sociisque comes discordia regnis.

And, as our owne most *lamentable* experience sheweth, what *abundance* of miseries happened unto our selves by this *venting* of the Kings power, and placing it in the hands of the *Parliament*, and his owne *inferiour* officers: and as those sad Tragedies of *Etheocles* and *Polynices*, *Numitor* and *Amulius*, *Romulus* and *Remus*, *Antoninus* and *Geta*, and almost infinite more, do make it manifest to all the world.

§.

The two chiefest parts of the regall government; the foure properties of a just warre; and how the Parliamentary faction transgresse in every property.

4. The chiefest parts of the Regall government, which are two.

4. HAving spoken of those *assistants*, that should *further* and not hinder the King in the Common-wealth, it resteth that I should now speake of the chiefest *parts* of this government: when *Moses* killed the *Egyptian* that wronged the *Israelite*, and the next day said unto the *Hebrew*, that did injure his fellow, *Wherefore smitest thou him?* the oppressour answe-

Exod. 2. 14.

red,

red, *Who made thee a Prince and a Judge over us?* and the people say unto *Samuel*, we will have a King over us, that *our King may judge us, and goe out before us and fight our battailes.* Out of which two places, we finde two speciall parts of the Kings government. 1. Sam. 8. 20. 2. Sam. 5. 2.

1. *Principatum bellorum*, the charge of the *warres*; in respect whereof the Kings were called *Captaines*, as the Lord said unto *Samuel* concerning *Saul*, *Unges eum ducem*, thou shalt annoint him to be *Captaine over my people Israel.* *Sigon. l. 7. c. 1.* 1. Sam. 9. 16.

2. *Curam judiciorum*, the care of all judgements; in respect whereof *David*, and *Solomon*, and the other Kings are said to *judge* the people. 1. Reg. 3. 9. Psal. 72. 2.

So *Arnisæus* saith, *Majestatis potestas omnis consistit vel in defendenda repub. vel in regenda*, all the power of royalty consisteth either in *defending* or in *governing* the Common wealth, according as *Homer* describeth a perfect King: *Arnisæus de jure Majest. l. 2. c. 1. p. 214.*

ἀμφότερον, βασιλῆϊ τ' ἀγαθῷ, κρατερῷ τ' ἀἰχμητῇ. *Homer Iliad γ.*

And so you see the two *principall* parts of the Kings government are the Offices

1. Of a *Captaine* in the time of Warre.
2. Of a *Judge* in the time of Peace.

1. *Ducis in bello gerendo.*
2. *Iudicis in jure reddendo.*

1. Then it is the *proper* right of the King, and of *none* but the King, or he that hath the *regall* and supreme power, to make *warre*, and to conclude *peace*; for *Plato* in his Common-wealth ordained, that, *Si quis pacem vel bellum fecerit cum aliquibus, ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς, δίκαιος ἔσω ξημίας.* and the *Julian* Law adjudgeth him guilty of High Treason; *Qui injussu principis bellum gesserit, delectúmve habuerit; exercitum vel comparaverit*, that either maketh *Warre*, or raiseth an *Army* without his Kings command. 1. Part. In the time of Warre. *Ordo ille naturalis mortalium pacis accommodatus hoc poscit, ut suscipiendi belli auctoritas atque consilium apud principes sit. Aug. cont. Faust. l. 22. & Arnis. l. 2. c. 5. p. 345. Plato de legib. lib. 2. Arnisæus lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 345.*

And to this part of the *regall* government, which consisteth in the *Militia* in Armes, for the *defence* of the Kingdome, pertaineth, 1. The *proclaiming* of *Warre*, which our Saviour properly ascribeth unto the *right* of Kings, when he saith, not what State or Common-wealth, but *What King going to warre with another King, &c.* 2. The concluding of *Peace*, which our Saviour ascribeth also unto the *King*, in the same place. 3. The making *Luc.* 14. 31. *Vers.* 32.

making of *leagues* and confederacies with other forraigne States. 4. The ſending and receiving of *Ambaſſadors*. 5. To raiſe *Armes*, and the like, which the Lawes of *God* and of all *Nations* juſtifie to be the *proper* right of Kings, and to belong *onely* unto the ſupreame Majeſtie.

Ariſtot. polit. l. 7. c. 8.

Arniſ. l. 2. c. 1.

Judges 11. 11. But then you will ſay, did not the *Judges*, *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *Gedion*, *Jephta*, *Barac*, *Sampſon*, and the reſt make *warre*, and yet they were no *Kings*? Why then may not the *Nobles* make warre, as well as Kings? I anſwer, that they doe *indeed* make warre, and a miſerable wretched warre; but I ſpeake of a *juſt* warre, and ſo I ſay that none but the *King*, or he that hath the *Kings* power can doe it; for though the *Judges* aſſumed not the *name* of Kings nor Captaines, *ſed à potiore parte vocati ſunt judices*, but from the *ſweeteſt* part of the royall government were termed *Judges*; yet they had the *full* power, *& ducendi & judicandi populum*, both of *warre* and *peace*, ſaith *Sigonius*: and ſo the men of *Gilead* ſaid unto *Jephthe*, *veni & eſto princeps noſter*; and they made him their *head* by an inviolable covenant. And of *Moſes* it is plainly ſaid, *He was King in Jeſurun*; and when there was no Judge, it is ſaid, *there was no King in Iſrael*: for I ſtand not about *words*, when ſome were called *Kings*, for the honour of the people, and yet had no more power then *Subjects*, as the Kings of *Sparta*; and others had not the *name* of Kings, and yet had the *full* power of Kings; as the *Dictator*, and the *Emperour*, and the great Duke of *Muſcovie*, and the like.

Deut. 33. 5.

Judges 17. 6. 18. 1. 19. 1.

But, when a *warre* is undertaken by any Prince, how ſhall we know which party is in the *right*? for to make an *unjuſt* warre, cannot be ſaid to be the *right* of any King: yet, as the Poët ſaith,

Lucan lib. 1.

——Quis juſtius induit arma
Scire nefas, ſummo ſe judice quiſque tuetur.

Every one pretends his cauſe is *juſt*, he fights for *God*, for the *truth* of the Goſpell, the *faith* of Chriſt, and the *liberty* and Lawes of his Countrey: how then ſhall thoſe *poore* men, that hazard their *lives* and their *fortunes*, yea, and *ſoules* too, if they warre on the *wrong* ſide, underſtand the *truth* of this great, doubtfull, and dangerous point? I an-

I answer, all the Divines that I reade of, speaking of warre, doe concurre with what *Dumbauderius* writeth of this point, that there must be foure properties of a just warre. *Dambau d in praxi criminal. cap.* 82.

Foure properties of a just Warre.

1. A *just* cause.
2. A *right* intention.
3. *Meet* Members.
4. The *Kings* authority. *Sine qua non est læsa Majestas*, without which authority the Warriours are all *Traytors*. And I would to God our *Rebels* would lay their hands upon their hearts, and *seriously* examine these foure points in this present Warre.

1. A just cause.

1. What *cause* have they to take Armes against their King, and to kill and *murder* so many thousands of their owne Brethren? they will answer, that they doe it for the defence of their *Liberty*, *Lawes*, and *Religion*; but how *truly*, let God himselfe be the Judge; for His Majestie hath *promised* and protested they shall enjoy all these *fully* and freely, without any manner of diminution: and we know that never any rebellion was *raised*, but these *very* causes were still pretended. And therefore

2. A right intention.

2. Consider with what *intent* they doe all this? and I doubt not but you shall finde *foule* weeds under this *faire* cloake; for under the shadow of *liberty* and property, they tooke the liberty to *rob* all the Kings loyall Subjects that they could reach, of all or most of their *estates*, and to keepe them fast in prison; because they would not *consent* to their *lawlesse* liberty, and to be *Rebels* with them against their conscience. And under the pretence of *Lawes* they aymed not to have the old Lawes well kept, which was never *denyed* them, but to have such new ones made, as might quite *rob* the King of all his *rights*, and transferre the *same* unto themselves and their friends; so he should be like the King of *Sparta*, a royall slave; and they should be like the *Ephori*, ruling and *commanding* Subjects: And for the *religion*, you may know by their new *Synod*, which are a Synod not of *Saints*, but of *Rebels*, what religion they would faine have, not that which was profest in Q. *Elizabeths* times, that was established by the *Lawes*, justified by the *paines*, and

What Lawes and Religion the Rebels would faine have;

confirmed by the *blood* of ſo many *worthy* men and faithfull *Martyrs*, but a new religion firſt hatched in *Amſterdam*, then nouriſhed in *New England*, and now to be tranſplanted into this Kingdome.

3. Meete Members.

3. Who are the *perſons* that are imployed in this warre? he firſt of all, that is the *more* diſſoyall, becauſe he was a perſon of *honour*, that had ſo *much* honour conferred upon him by His Majeſtie, and ſo much *truſt* repoſed in him, and would notwithſtanding prove ſo *unthankfull*, as to kick with his heeles againſt his Maſter; and ſo follow, whom you know, *paſſibus aquis*, whoſe example, any other man, that were not robb'd of his underſtanding, would make a *remora* to retraine him from rebellion: and what are the *other* heads, but a company either of *poore*, needy, and *meane* condition'd Lords and Gentlemen, or *diſcontented* Peeres that are miſled, or ſuch *factious* Sectaries, whoſe *blind* zeale and *furious* malice are able to hurry them *headlong* to perpetrate any miſcheife? for their *Captaines* and their Officers, I beleeve they fight neither for the *Anabaptiſts* creed, nor againſt the *Roman* faith, nor to overthrow our *Proteſtant* Church, but for their *pay*; for which, though they cannot be *juſtified* to take their *hire* for ſuch *ill* ſervice, to *rebell* againſt their King, and to *murder* their innocent brethren; Yet are they not ſo bad as their grand Maſters, and for their common Souldiers, I aſſure my ſelfe many of them fight *againſt* their wills, many *ſeduced* by their *falſe* Prophets, others inticed by their *factious* Maſters, and moſt of them compelled to kill their brethren *againſt* their wills; and therefore in ſome places, though their number *trebled* the Kings; yet they had rather run away then fight; and what a miſerable and deplorable caſe is this, when ſo many *poore* ſoules ſhall be driven unto the Devill by Preachers and Parliament againſt their wills?

Who the Rebells are, and what manner of perſons they be.

4. The ſupreme authority.

4. If you conſider *qua authoritate*, by what authority they wage this warre? they will anſwer by the Authority of *Parliament*, and that is juſt none at all; becauſe the *Parliament* hath not the *ſupreme* authority, without which the warre is not *publique*, nor can it be *juſtified*: for a warre is then *juſtifiable*, when there is no *legall* way to end the controverſie by prohi-

biting

biting farther appeales, which cannot be, but onely betwixt *independent* States and severall Princes, that have the *supreme* power in their owne hands, and are not liable to the *censure* of any Court; which power the Parliament cannot challenge; because they are or should be the Kings *lawfull* Subjects: and therefore cannot be his lawfull enemies: but they will say, Master *Goodwin*, *Burroughes*, and all the rest of our *good* men, *zealous* brethren, and *powerfull* Preachers doe *continually* cry out in our eares, it is *bellum sanctum*, a most *just* and holy warre, a warre for the *Gospell* and for our *Lawes* and Liberties, wherein whosoever dies he shall be crowned a *Martyr*.

Albericus Gentilis de jure belli, l. 1. c. 2.

Subjects can never make a lawfull warre against their king.

I answer, that for their *reward*, they shall be indeed as Saint *Augustine* saith of the like, *Martyres stultæ Philosophiæ*, when every one of them may be *indicted* at the barre of Gods justice for a *felo de se*, a Malefactor guilty of his owne *untimely* death: and for their good *Orators* that perswade them to this *wickedness*, I pray you consider well what they are: men of no *worth*, rebellious against the *Church*, rebells against the *King*, factious *Schismatiques*, of no *faith*, of no *learning*, that have already forfeited their *estates*, if they have any, and their *lives* unto the King: and will any man that is *wise*, hazard his *estate*, his *life* and his *soule* to follow the perswasions of *these* men? my *life* is as deere to mee, as the Earle of *Essex* his *head* is to him, and my *soule* dearer; and I dare ingage them both, that if all the *Doctors* in both Universities, and all the Divines within the Kingdome of *England*, were gathered together to give their *judgement* of this warre, there could not be found one of ten, it may be as I beleeve not one of twenty that durst upon his *conscience* say, this warre is lawfull upon the *Parliament* side; for though these *Locusts*, that is, the *German*, *Scottish*, and the *English* Puritane, agreeing with the *Romane* Jesuite ever since the reformation, harped upon this string, and retained this *serpentine* poison within their bosome, still spitting it forth against *all* States, as you may see by their bookes; Yet I must tell you *plainely*, this doctrine of *Subjects taking up armes against their lawfull King*, is point blanke and *directly* against the received doctrine of the *Church* of *England*: and against the tenet of

Res dura ac plena periculosæ, regale occidisse genus.

In what condition their Preachers are; and of what worth.

It is contrary to the doctrine of all the Protestant Church, for Subjects to resist their king.

Pareus in Rom. 13. Bucheri l. 2. c. 2. Keckerm. Syst. pol. c. 32. Iun. Brut. q. 2. p. 56. Bellar. de laic. c. 6 Suar. def. fid. cathol. c. 3.

all true Protestants: and therefore *Andreas Rivetus* Professor at *Leyden* writing against a *Jesuite*, that cast this aspersion upon the Protestants, that they *jumpe* with them in this doctrine of *warring* against, and deposing *Kings*, saith, that *no Protestant doth maintaine that damnable doctrine*, and that rashnesse of *Knox* and *Buchanan*, is to be ascribed *praefervido Scotorum ingenio & ad audendum prompto*. *Jnell* and *Bilson* and all the Doctors of our Church are of the same minde: and *Lichfield* saith, no *Orthodox* father did by word or writing teach any resistance, for the space of a thousand yeares: and Doctor *Feild* saith, that all the worthy fathers and Bishops of the Church perswaded themselves, that they owed all duty unto their Kings, though they were *Heretiques* and Infidells; and the *Homilies* of the Church of *England*, allowed by authority, do *plainely* and peremptorily condemne all *Subjects* warring against their King for *Rebells* and Traitors, that doe resist the *ordinance* of God and procure unto themselves *damnation*: and truly I beleeve most of their own consciences tell them so; & they that think otherwise, I would have them to consider, that if they were at a banquet, where twenty should averre such a dish to be full of poyson, for every *one* that would warrant it good, would'st thou venture to eate it, and hazard thy life in such a case? O then consider what it is to hazard thy *soule* upon the like termes. So you see the *justnesse* of the warre on the Parliament side. But

Lichfield. l. 4. c. 19. §. 19. Feild l. 5. c. 30

1. On the Kings side, it cannot be denied; but his *cause* is most just; for his owne *defence*, for the *maintenance* of the *true* Protestant Religion, that is establisht by our *Lawes*, and for the *rights* of the Church and the *just* liberties and property of all his loyall Subjects: this he *testifieth* in all his Declarations: and this we *know* in our owne consciences to be true; and therefore

2. As His Majestie *professeth*, so we *believe* him, that he never *intended* otherwise by this warre, but to protect *us*, and our *Religion*, and to maintaine his owne *just* and unquestionable rights, which these Rebells would most unjustly wrest out of his hands, and under the shew of humble *Petitioners* to become

become at last proud *Commanders*; for as one saith,

——They whom no deniall can withstand,
Seeme but to aske, while they indeed command.

3. His Assistants learned, honest, and religious.

3. For the persons that warre with him, they are the cheifest of the *Nobility*; all the best *Gentry*, that hazard their lives, not for *filthy* lucre; for, the Kings *Revennues*, being so unjustly detained from him, they are faine to *supply* his necessities, and to beare their owne charges; and the poore common Soldiers are *nothing* wanting to doe their best endeavours; neither need they to feare any thing; because

4. His authority sacred and unquestionable.

4. The King hath a *just* right, to give them *full* power and authority to doe *execution* upon these Rebells, as I have proved unto you before.

What the pretended Parliament is,

And therefore the *result* of all is, that the Parliament side (under the *pretence* of Religion, fighting if not for the *Crowne*, yet certainely for the *full* power and authority of the King, who shall have the *ordering* of the *Militia*, that is, who shall have the *government* of this Kingdome, which is all *one* as who shall be the King, they or King CHARLES, and which is the very question, that they would now decide by the (sword) in taking away our goods; are *theeves* and robbers; in killing their brethren, are bloudy *murderers*; and in resisting their King, are rebellious *traytors*; that as the Apostle saith, purchase to themselves *damnation*; when (as the Prophet *Esay* speaketh of the like Rebells) *being hardly bestead and hungry*, (as I beleeve thousands of them are in *London*, and other rebellious Cities) *they shall fret themselves, and curse their King and their God, and looke upward* (as I feare many of them doe, curse the King with their *tongues*, and God in their *hearts*) *and they shall looke unto the earth: and behold trouble and darkenesse, dimnesse and anguish, and they shall be driven to darkenesse even to utter darknesse, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth*, if by a true repentance they doe not betimes rent their *hearts* and forsake their fearefull *sinnes*.

Esay, 8. 21. 22.

Matth. 8. 12.

And the Kings side, in this warre, doing no further then the King gives *Commission*, do no more then what God *commandeth*; and therefore, *living*, they shall be accounted *Loyall*

Subjects worthy of honour; and *dying*, they ſhall be ſure to be *everlaſtingly* rewarded.

CHAP. XIII.

Sheweth how the firſt government of Kings was arbitrary; the places of Moſes, Deut. 17. *and of Samuel*, 1. Sam. 8. *diſcuſſed; whether Ahab offended in deſiring Nabothis Vineyard, and wherein; why abſolute power was granted unto Kings; and how the diverſities of government came up.*

2. Part of the regall government in the time of peace.

2. HAving thus ſhewed you *Poteſtatem ducendi*, the Kings *right* and power of making *warre*, it reſteth that I ſhould ſpeake *De poteſtate judicandi*, of his *power* and right of judgeing and governing his people in the time of *peace*; touching which we finde none denying his *right*, but all the difference is about the manner: where

Maſter *Selden* in his titles of Honour. p. 15.

1. I finde Maſter *Selden* rejecting, as *ridiculous*, the teſtimony of *Juſtine*, which ſaith, *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur, ſed arbitria regum pro legibus erant*; the people were kept under by no *Lawes*, but the *will* of their Kings was all the *Law* they had; but as *oportet mendacem eſſe memorem*, ſo it behoves him that oppoſeth the truth to be very *ſubtle*, and very mindfull of his owne diſcourſe; otherwiſe a *meaner* Scholler, having ſuch advantage as the *truth* to aſſiſt him, may eaſily get the victory; for, though he goeth about to confute the *reaſon* that ſome alleadge, for the *denyall* of thoſe times to be governed by any Law, becauſe the word νομος is not to be found in all *Homer*, but where ſoever he ſpeakes of Juſtice, he expreſſeth the ſame by the word *Themis*, and ſaith, that this is falſe, which he proveth from *Homers* ευνομιαν, and his νομους θεμιστας; and ſheweth that there were *Lawes* before *Homers* time, from *Talus* his Lawes that were written in braſſe in the Iſle of *Crete*; yet all this may be anſwered, and *Juſtines* opinion proye moſt

That the firſt government of Kings was arbitrary.

Homer. hymn. 5. in hymnis ad Apoll.

Ioſeph. adverſ. Appion. l. 3.

true;

true; for *Talus* his time must needs be uncertaine, and by *νόμος δίκης*, *Homer* meanes the just *measure* of riming, but never useth *νόμος*: for the set *Law* of living; besides, there were many ages, and many Kings before *Homers* time; and before *Talus*, *Minos*, *Radamantus*, or any other Law-maker that you reade of; *Moses* was the first that I finde, either giving *Lawes*, or inventing *Letters*; and yet there were many Kings before *Moses*; nine Kings named in one Chapter, and what *Lawes* had they to governe their people besides their owne *wils*? and therefore Master *Selden*, *vi veritatis victus*, confesseth that in the *first* times, in the *beginning* of States, there were no *Lawes* but the *arbitrements* of Princes, as *Pomponius* speaketh: and *pag.* 4. he saith, the people, seeing the inconveniences of *popular* rule, chose *one* Monarch, under whose *arbitrary* rule their happy quiet should be preserved; where also you may observe his great *mistake*, in making the *Monarchie* to spring out of the *Democracie*; when as I have proved before, the *Monarchicall* government was many hundred of yeares before we heare *mention* of any other forme of government: but in *any* government, Doctor *Saravia* saith, and he saith most truly, *Quisquis summum obtinet imperium, sive is sit unus rex, sive pauci nobiles, vel ipse populus universus, supra omnes leges sunt; ratio hæc est, quòd nemo sibi ferat legem, sed subditis suis se legibus nemo adstringit: huc accedit & illa ratio, quòd neque suis legibus teneri possit (scil. rex) cum nemo sit seipso superior, nemo à seipso cogi possit, & leges à superiore tantum sciscantur, denique inferioribus.*

Plutarch in lib. de Hero.

Gen. 14. 1, 2.

Pompon. de origine juris, ff. l. 1. § 2.

Iosephus regnũ appellat imperium summum unius hominis, non ex lege, sed ex arbitrio imperantis. Antiquit. l. 4.

Saravia de imperand. autor. l. 2. c. 3.

Barclaius l. 3. c. 16.

And so *Arnisæus* saith, and proveth at large, *Majestatis essentiam consistere in summa & absoluta potestate*, that the being of *Majestie* and Soveraignty consisteth in the highest and most absolute power. And *Irvinus* alleadgeth many testimonies out of *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Ulpian*, *Dio*, *Constant. Harmenopolus*, and others, to prove that *Rex legibus non subjicitur*.

Arnis. l. 2. c. 15 p. 49, 50.

Irvinus cap. 4. p. 64, 65.

And to make it yet more cleare, that the Kings *power* to rule his people was *arbitrary*; *Sigonius* saith most truly, that the power of governing the people was given by God unto *Moses* before the *Law* was given; and therefore he called the people

people to counſell, and without either *Judges* or Magiſtrates, *jura iſdem reddidit*, he adminiſtred *juſtice*, and did *right* to every one of them: So *Joſhua* exerciſed the *ſame* right, and the *Judges* after him; and after the *Judges* ſucceeded the *Kings*, *quorum poteſtas atque auctoritas multo major, ut quæ non tam à legibus quàm ab arbitrio & voluntate regis profecta ſit*, whoſe power and authority was farre *greater*, as proceeding, not ſo much from the *Lawes*, as from the *arbitrement* and the *will* of the King, ſaith *Sigonius*: for they underſtood the power of a King in *Ariſtotles* ſence, *Qui ſolutus legibus planiſſimo jure regnaret*, who being freed from the *Lawes*, or not tyed to Lawes, might governe with a *plenary* right. And ſo *Saul* judged *Iſrael*, and had altogether the *arbitrary* power both of *life* and *death*; *& quodam modo ſuperior legibus fuit*, and was after a ſort *above* the Law, undertaking and making warre, *pro arbitratu ſuo*, according to his owne will. And in his ſixth booke he ſaith, the *Jewes* had three great Courts or Aſſemblies.

Sigon. de rep. Heb. l. 7. c. 3.

Hoc arbitrarium imperium expreſſit Deus. 1. Sam. 8. & David. Pſ. 21. Reges eos in virga ferrea.

Idem ibidem.

Cap. 2. 1. Their *Councell*, which contained that company, that handled thoſe things eſpecially, which concerned the State of the *whole* Common-wealth; as warre, peace, proviſion, inſtitution of Lawes, creation of Magiſtrates, and the like.

Cap. 3. 2. Their *Synagogue*, or the meeting of the *whole* Congregation or people, which no man might convocate, but he which had the *chiefe* rule, as *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, the *Judges*, and the *Kings*.

Cap. 4. Numb. 15. 3. Their ſtanding *Senate*, which was appointed of God to be of the 70 Elders; whereof he ſaith, that although this was *alwayes* ſtanding for conſultation; yet we muſt underſtand that the Kings, which had the Common-wealth in their *owne* power, and were not obnoxious to the *Lawes*, made Decrees of *themſelves*, without the authority of the Senate; *ut qui cum ſummo imperio eſſent*, as men that were indued with the *chiefeſt* rule and command: And we finde that the King judged the people two manner of wayes.

Plenum regnum vocatur quo cuncta rex ſua voluntate gerit. Idem.

1. *Alone.*
2. Together with the *Elders* and Prieſts.

For it is ſaid, that *Abſolon*, when any man came to the King for

for judgement, wished that he were made *Judge* in the Land, and he did in this manner to all *Israel* that came to the King for judgement: and when the people demanded a *King* instead of *Samuel* to reigne over them, and God said, *They had cast him off from being their King*; he signifieth most *plainly*, that while the *Judges* ruled, which had their chiefest authority from the *Law*, God *raigned* over them; because his *Law* did rule them; but the rule and government being translated unto *Kings*, God raigned no longer over them: *Quia non penes legem Dei, sed penes voluntatem unius hominis summa rerum autoritas esset futura*; because now all *authority*, and all things were not in the power of the *Law*, but in the power of one mans arbitrary will. 1. Sam. 15. 2, 6: 1. Sam. 8. 7.

But, seeing we are fallen upon the peoples *desire* of a King, let us examine what *right* God saith belongeth unto him; and because that place, 1. *Sam.* 8. is contradicted by another, *Deut.* 17. as it seemeth, we will examine *both* places, and see if *Moses* doth any wayes crosse *Samuel*: and truly I may say of these two places, that, as S. *Aug.* saith in the like case, *alii aliud, alii aliud, aliud aliud opinati sunt*; for some learned men say, that *Moses* setteth downe to the King, *legem regendi*, the Law by which he should *governe* the people, without wronging them; and *Samuel* setteth downe to the people *legem parendi*, the Law by which they should *obey* the King, without resisting him whatsoever he should doe to them: And other Divines say, *Hac est potestas legitima, non tyrannica, nec violenta: & ideo quando rex propria negotia non possit expedire per proprias res ac servos, possit pro negotiis propriis tollere res & servas aliorum: & isto modo dicebat Deus quod pertineat ad jus regis*, this is the *lawfull* and just right of the King. Therefore to finde out the truth, let us a little more *narrowly* discusse both places. And Deut. 17. 14. *usque ad finem.* *Spalat. tom. 2. fol. 252.* *G. Ocham. tract. 2. l. 2. c. 25.*

1. In the words of *Moses*, there I observe two speciall things.

1. The charge of the people.
2. The charge of the King.

1. The people are commanded very strictly, *in any wise*, saith the 1. Popular election utterly forbidden.

the Text, to make choice of no King of their owne heads, but to accept of him *whom the Lord did chuse.*

2. The Kings charge.

2. The King is commanded *to write out the Law*, to ſtudy it, and to practice it; and he is *forbidden* to doe foure ſpeciall things, which are

1. Not to bring the people backe into *Egypt*, nor to provide the *means* to bring them, by multiplying his horſes.
2. Not to marry *many* wives that might *intice* him, as they did *Solomon*, unto Idolatry.
3. Not to hoord up *too much* riches.
4. Not to *tyrannize* over his Brethren.

Joſeph. Antiquit. l. 4. And *Joſephus* to the ſame purpoſe ſaith, *Si regis cupidium vos inceſſerit, is ex eadem gente ſit, curam omnino gerat juſtitiæ & aliarum virtutum, caveat vero ne plus legibus aut Deo ſapiat, nihil autem agat ſine Pontificis, Senatorumque ſententia*, (which *Moſes* hath not) *neque nuptiis multis utatur, nec copiam pecuniarum equorumque ſectetur, quibus partis ſuperlegis ſuperbia efferatur*, that is, to be a Tyrant.

3. The words of *Samuel* are ſet downe; 1. *Sam.* 8. 11. to the 18. verſe, whereof I confeſſe there are *ſeverall* expoſitions; ſome making the ſame a *prophetical* prediction of what ſome of their Kings *would* doe, contrary to what they *ſhould* doe, as it was expreſſed by *Moſes*. So King *James* himſelfe takes it; others take it *Grammatically*, for the *true* right of a King, that may do *all* this, and yet no way contradict thoſe precepts forecited by *Moſes*; to confirme which ſuppoſition, they ſay, 1. The *phraſe* here uſed muſt beare it out; for as the *Hebrew* word ſignifieth, as *Pagninus* noteth, *Morem, aut modum, aut conſuetudinem*, and many other things, as the *place* and the *matter* to be expreſſed doe require; (becauſe every *equivocall* word of various ſignification is not to be taken *alike* in all places, but is to be interpreted *ſecundum materiam ſubjectam*) yet the *Septuagint* that ſhould know both the *propriety* of the word, and the *meaning* of the Holy Ghoſt in that place, as well as any other, tranſlate the word to ſignifie *Judicium*; and we know the Greeke word *Δικαίωμα*, which the *Septuagint* uſeth; and *jus*, which the *Latine* uſeth, is never taken in the worſer

Rex Iacobus in his true Law of free Monarchs.

Οἱ δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα ἑρμήνευσαν τὸ δικαίωμα.

warser sence, the Scripture never using to call *vices* by the names of *vertues*, or to give a *right* to any one to exercise *tyranny*, which then might be better termed *Iurelatrocinia*, because an *unjust* tyrant is no better then an *open* thiefe: 2. There is *nothing* here set downe by *Samuel*, that is simply forbidden by the Law of God, but that *any*, the very *best* Kings may doe, as the occasions shall require; for being a King, he must have the *royalty* of his house supported, and the *necessities* of his warre supplied: and you may reade in *Herodotus* how *Dioces*, after he was chosen King, had *all* things granted unto him, that were needfull to expresse his *royall* state and magnificence; and here is *nothing* else in the text; for if you marke it, the Prophet saith not, he should *kill* their sonnes, nor *ravish* their wives, nor yet take their daughters to be his *Concubines*, which are the *properties* of a tyrant*; but he should take them to *support* his state, and to maintaine his *warre*, which, as his *necessities* require, is *lawfull* for him to doe; so that it is not the *doing* of those things, but the *motives* that cause the King to doe them; or the manner of doing them, that do make it either an *unjust* tyranny, or the *just* right of a King; for as Doctor *Bilson* saith, Kings may justly command the *goods* and *bodies* of all their Subjects, in the time both of warre and peace, for any *publique* necessity or utility. And *Hugo de Sancto Victore* saith, *Nunquam possessiones Regia potestate ita elongari possunt, quin si ratio postulaverit & necessitas, & illis ipsa potestas debeat patrocinium, & illis ipsa possessiones debeant in necessitate obsequium.* And so *most* Authors say, the Subjects *ought* to supply the Kings necessities, and he may *justly* demand what is *requisite* and necessary for his *publique* occasions; and who shall *judge* of that necessity but his owne *conscience*? and God shall judge that *conscience*, which doth *unjustly* demand what he hath no *reason* to require; because the *greatnesse* of his authority gives him no *right* to transcend the rules of *equity*, whereof both God and his conscience will be the *impartiall* Judges. And therefore in *Deut. Modus describitur, res non prohibetur*; and in *Samuel, Jus ponitur, & ratio subintelligitur*; for many things may be prohibited in some respect, that in other respects may be allowed;

Apparet nomen juris significare hic potestatem jure concessam. Arnisæus c. 1. p. 216.

**Instat terribilis vivis, morientibus hæres, Virginibus raptor, thalamis obscœnus adulter. Divitibusque dies, & nox metuenda maritis; Quis miles vel locuples, pulchrâ vel conjuge natus, Crimini pulsatur falsos; si crimina desunt, Accitus convivæ perit; mors nulla refugit Artificem ---- Claudian. de bello Gildon. Bilson diff. fol. 356.*

lowed; and many things lawfull in some wayes, which other wayes may be most sinfull; as it is most lawfull to drinke, *ad satietatem*, but not *ad ebrietatem*, and many other the like things: so it is lawfull for the King to doe all that *Samuel* saith, *ad supplendam reipubl. necessitatem, & supportandam regiam majestatem*, but not *ad satisfaciendum suo fastui, luxui, lucro, vanitati, aut carnali voluptati*; which is the thing that *Moses* forbiddeth: So that in briefe the meaning is, if the Subjects should be *unwilling* to doe what *Samuel* saith, then the King, when *just* necessity requireth, may for these *lawfull* ends lawfully assume them. And if he takes them any other way, or for any other *end* then so, *habet Deum judicem conscientiæ, & ulcerem injustitiæ.*

Ob. But then it may be said, *Ahab* did not offend in taking away *Naboths* vineyard, if *Samuel* did properly describe the *right* of Kings.

Ans. I cannot say that *Ahab* sinned in desiring *Naboths* vineyard, neither doe I finde that the Prophet *blames* him for that desire; there is not a *word* of that in the text, but for *killing*

IRREGULAR PAGINATION

Naboths fault.

dered, when he should have rather questioned the *fact*, and have punished the *murderers*.

Lex posterior derogat priori, specialis generali: & ceremonialia atque forensia cedunt moralibus.

And yet *Ahabs* sinne doth not excuse *Naboths* fault, both in the *denyall* of the Kings right, if the King had a *just* necessity to use it; and also for his *uncivill* answer unto the King, farre unlike the answer of *Araunah* to King *David*, but nearer like the answer of *Nabal*, which the Holy Ghost seemes to take

notice of, when after he had said, *The Lord forbid it me*, which was rather a *Prayer* and postulation that God *would* forbid it, as we say, *absit*, when we heare of any displeasing likelyhood, then any *declaration* of any inhibition of God to sell it, who never denyed them *leave* to sell it untill the yeare of redemption, the Prophet tels us in the next verse, that *Naboth* said, *I will not give thee the inheritance of my father.* 1. Reg. 21. 4. Which very answer seemes to be the cause, why *Ahab* was so *much* displeased.

But whether this speech of *Samuel* sheweth the *just* right of a King what he *might* doe, or his power what he *would* do, what belongs to him of *equity*, or what his practice would be by *tyrannie*, I will not determine: but I say, that although it should not be a *just* rule for him to command, yet it is a *certaine* rule for them to obey; and though it should not *excuse* the King from sinne, yet it wholly *disables* and disavowes the peoples *resisting* their King, because in all this the Prophet allowes them none *other* remedy, but to *cry out unto the Lord*: for seeing God hath given him *directum dominium, & absolutum imperium*, though he should *faile* of his duty, which God requireth, and doe that *wrong* unto the people, which God forbiddeth, yet he is *solutus legibus*, free from all Lawes, *quoad coactionem*, in respect of any *coaction* from the people, but not *quoad obligationem*, in respect of *obedience* to God by his obligation; for though Kings had this *plenitudinem potestatis*, to rule and governe their people, as the father of the familie rules his household, or the Pilot directs his Ship, *secundum liberum arbitrium*, according to his owne *arbitrary* will; yet that *will* was to rule and to guide all his actions, according to the strict Law of *common* equity and justice, as I have often shewed unto you. The Kings absolute power not given him to inable him for oppression, but to retaine his Subjects from rebellion.

But though this *arbitrary* rule continued long and very generall; for *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that excepting the Kings of *Egypt*, that were indeed very strictly tied to live according to *law*, all *other* Kings *infinita licentia ac voluntate sua pro lege regnabant*, ruled as they *listed* themselves; Yet at *last* corruption so prevailed, that either the Kings abusing their power, or the people *refusing* to yeild their obedience, caused this *arbitrary* rule to be *abridged* and limited within the *bounds* of lawes, *Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3.* *Boemus Aubanus tamen asserit voluntatem regum Ægypti, pro lege esse.*

lowed; and many things lawfull in some wayes, which other wayes may be most sinfull; as it is most lawfull to drinke, *ad satietatem*, but not *ad ebrietatem*, and many other the like things: so it is lawfull for the King to doe all that *Samuel* saith, *ad supplendam reipubl. necessitatem, & supportandam regiam majestatem*, but not *ad satisfaciendum suo fastui, luxui, lucro, vanitati, aut carnali voluptati*; which is the thing that *Moses* forbiddeth: So that in briefe the meaning is, if the Subjects should be *unwilling* to doe what *Samuel* saith, then the King, when *just* necessity requireth, may for these *lawfull* ends lawfully assume them. And if he takes them any other way, or for any other *end* then so, *habet Deum judicem conscientia, & ulterem injustitiæ.*

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Ahab sinnes. 1. In being so *discontented* for his denyall, because his *conscience*, telling him, that he had no such *urgent* necessity, whereby he could *take* it; and *Naboth* being unwilling to *sell* it, he should have beene satisfied.

2. In suffering his *wife*, whom he knew to be so *wicked*, to proceed in her *unjust* course against *Naboth*.

3. In going downe to take *possession*, when he knew that by his wifes *wicked* practice the poore man was unjustly murdered, when he should have rather questioned the *fact*, and have punished the *murderers*.

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Becomus Ambasius tamen assensit voluntatem regum Ægypti, pro lege esse.

lawes, whereby the Kings *promised* and obliged themselves to *governe* their people according to the rules of those *established* lawes; for though the *supreme* Majestie be free from lawes, *sponte tamen iis accommodare potest*, the King may of his owne accord yeild to observe the same; and as the German Poet saith,

German. vates de reiis Frid. l. 3.

——Nihil, ut verum fatear, magis esse decorum
Aut regale puto, quam legis iure solutum
Sponte tamen legi se se supponere regem.

and according to the *diversities* of those lawes, so are the diversities of *government*, among the severall Kingdomes of the earth; for I speake not of any *Popular* or *Aristocraticall* state; therefore as some Kings are *more* restrained by their *lawes* then some others, so are their powers the *lesse* absolute; and yet all of them being *absolute* Kings and free Monarchs, are excepted from any *account* of their actions to any *inferiour* jurisdiction; because then they had not beene *Monarches*, but of Kings had made themselves *Subjects*.

How diversities of government came up.

Thus you see, that rule which formerly was *arbitrary*, is now become *limited*, but limited by their *owne* lawes and with their owne wills, and none otherwise; for I shewed you elsewhere, that the *Legislative* power resided allways in the King, even as *Virgil* saith,

Virgil. Æneid. l.

——Gaudet regno Troianus Acestes.
Indicit ipse forum, & patribus dare iura vocatis.

And as that mirror of all learned Kings saith, *King* Fergus *came to* Scotland *before any Statutes, or Parliament, or Lawes were made; and you may easily finde it, that Kings were the makers of the Lawes, and not the Lawes the makers of Kings; for the Lawes are but craved by the Subjects and made only by him at their rogation, and with their advice*: so he *gives* the Law to them, but *takes* none from them; and by their *owne Lawes* Kings have limited and abridged their *owne Rights* and power, which God and nature have conferred upon them, some *more*, some *lesse*, according as their grants were unto their people.

Rex Iacobus in the true law of free Monarchs, pag. 201.

§.

The extent of the grants of Kings; what they may, and what they may not grant; what our Kings have not granted, in seven speciall prerogatives; and what they have granted unto their people.

AND here I would have you to consider these two points, concerning *these* grants of Kings unto their Subjects.

Two things considerable about the privileged grants of Kings.

{1. Of the *extent* of these grants,
{2. Of the Kings *obligation* to observe them.

1. The extent of the grants of kings.

1. It is certaine that the people, allwayes desirous of *liberty*, though that liberty should produce their *ruine*, are notwithstanding like the daughters of the *Horse-leeche*, still crying unto their Kings, *give, give*, give us *liberties* and priviledges *more* and more; and if they may have their *wills*, they are never satisfied,

Prov. 30. 15.

Till Kings by giving, give themselves away,
And even that power, which should deny, betray.

That it is to the prejudice of government to grant too many priviledges to the people.

For the *concessions*, and giving away of their *right* to governe, is the weakning of their government: and the *more* priviledges they give, the *lesse* power they have to rule: and then the more *unruly* will their Subjects be: and therefore the people being herein like the *horses* the Poets faigne to be in *Phabus* chariot, *proud* and stomacke-full, Kings should remember the grave *advice* the father gave unto *Phaeton*:

Ovid. Met. l. 2.

Parce puer stimulis, & fortius utere loris:
Sponte sua properant, labor est inhibere volantes.

They must be *strongly* bridled, and restrained, or they will soone destroy both *horse* and *rider*, both themselves and their Governours: Yet many Kings, either forcibly *compelled* by their unruly Subjects, (when they might thinke, and therefore not yeild, that,

Constrained gifts not worthy of thanks.

Who gives constrain'd, but his owne feare reviles,
Not thank't, but scorn'd, nor are they gifts, but spoiles.)

Or else (as some *intruding* usurping Kings have done) to *retaine* their unjustly gained crownes, without opposition, or as

What moved Kings to grant so many priviledges to their Subjects.

others, out of their Princely *clemency* and facility, to gaine the more *love* and affection, and as they conceived, the greater *obligation* from their Subjects, have many times, to the *prejudice* of themselves and their posterity, to the *diminution* of the rights of government, and often to the great *damage* of the Common-wealth, *given* away and released the *execution* of many parts of that right, which *originally* most justly belonged unto them, and tied themselves by *promises* and oathes to observe those lawes, which they made for the exemption of their Subjects.

Majora jura inseperabilia à Majestate, nequeunt indulgeri subditis, & ita cohærent ossibus, & ab illo seperari, si ne illius destructione, non possunt. Paris. de puteo. Arnisæum l. 2. c. 2. de jure ma. Blacwod. c. 7. pag. 75.

Things that the King cannot grant.

But there be *some* things, which the King *cannot grant*, as to transferre the *right* of succession to any other then the *right* heire, to whom it doth *justly belong*: *quia non jam hæreditas est, sed proprium adeuntis patrimonium, cujus ei pleno jure dominium acquiritur, non a Patre, non a populo, sed a lege*—: Because he hath *this* right unto the Crowne, not from his *father*, nor from the *people*, but from the *Law* of the Land, and from *God* himselfe, which appointed him for the same; saith the Civilian: and therefore that *vulgar* saying is not absurd, *nunquam moritur regem*: that *the King never dieth*: for assoone as ever the one parteth with this life, the other immediately without expecting the *consent* either of Peeres or people, doth by a just and plenary right succeed, not onely as his fathers *heire*, but as the lawfull governour of the people, and as the *Lord* of the whole Kingdome, not by any *option* of any men, but by the *condition* of his birth, and the *donation* of his God; and therefore the resignation of the crowne by King *John* unto the Pope was but a fiction, that could inferre no *diminution* of the right of his successor: because no King can give away this right from him, whom God hath designed for it.

Things that the King should not grant.

And there be some things, which no Christian King *should* grant away, as any of those things, that being granted, may prejudice the *Church* of God, and depresse the *glory* of the Gospell of *Jesus Christ*; as the giving way for the *diminution* of the just revenues of the Church, the *prophanation* of things consecrated to Gods service, and the suppression of any of the divine callings of the Gospell, which are *Bishops*, *Preists* and *Deacons*:

Deacons; because all Kings are bound to *honour* God, and to hinder all those things, whereby he is *dishonoured*, either in respect of *things*, *persons*, or *places*.

And there be *some* things which the Kings of this realme have *never* granted away, but have *still* retained them in their owne hands, as *inviolable* prerogatives and *characteristicall* Symboles and Properties of their Supremacy, and the *relicks* of their pristine right, as in the time of *peace*, those two speciall parts of the government of the Common-wealth, which doe consist. Things that Kings have not granted away.

1. About the *Lawes*.
2. About the *Magistrates*:

1. About the Lawes.

The 1. whereof, saith *Arnisæus*, containeth these particulars, that is, to make *Lawes*, to create *Nobility*, and give *titles* of dignity, to *legitimate* the ill begotten, to grant *Priviledges*, to restore *Offenders* to their lost repute, to pardon the *transgressors*, and the like.

1. *Im legislatio-nem.*

1. Then it is the *right* of the King *jure dare*, to give *Lawes* unto his people; for though (as I said before) the *Subjects* in Parliament may *treat* of Lawes, and intreat the King to *approve* of them that they propose unto him; yet they are no *Lawes*, and carry with them no *binding* force, till the King gives his *consent*; and therefore out of Parliament, you see the Kings *Proclamation* hath *vim et vigorem legis*, the full *force* and strength of a law; to shew unto us, that the *power* of making lawes was never yeilded out of the Kings hands; nor can it indeed be parted with, except he part with His Majestie and Soveraignty; for the *limiting* of his owne power, by his *voluntary* concession of such favours unto his people, *not to make any Lawes without their consent*, doth no way diminish his *Soveraignty*, or lessen his owne right and authority; but as a man that yeildeth himselfe to be *bound* by some others, hath the use of his strength taken from him, but none of his *naturall* strength in selfe is lessened, (and much lesse is any part of it *transferred* to them that bound him;) but that whensoever his bonds are *loosened*, he can worke againe by vertue of his *owne* naturall strength, and not by any *received* strength from his loosers; so the *naturall* right and

Iohan. Beda, pag. 25.

The power of making Lawes is in the king.

The case of our affaires, pag. 11.

Stat. West. 1. 3. *E.* 1. 3. *& 6. & 42. Stat. of Merch.* 13. *E.* 1. *Westm.* 3. 18. *E.* 1. 1. *Stat. of Wast.* 20. *E.* 1. *of appeals.* 28. *E.* 1. 1. *E.* 2. 1. and all the titles and acts of our Parliaments.

and interest of the Soveraignty, being solely in the King; and the Peeres and Commons, by the Kings voluntary concession, being onely interessed in the office of *restraining* his power, for the more regular working of the true legitimate Soveraignty, it cannot be denied, but in *whatsoever* the Peeres and Commons doe remit the *restraint*, by yeilding their *consent* to the point proposed, the King worketh and acteth therein *absolutely* by the power of his owne *inherent* Soveraignty; and all acts and lawes so passing doe virtually proceed from the King, as from the *true* and proper efficient author thereof: and may notwithstanding be said to be the acts of the *whole* Court, because the three estates contribute their power of remitting the *restraint*, and yeilding their *assent*, as well as the King useth his *unrestrained power*.

How the same acts may be said to be the acts of the king and of the Parliament.

And therefore *Suarez* saith, that as *condere legem unus est ex precipuis actibus gubernationis reipublica, ita precipuam & superiorem requirit potestatem*, to make *Lawes* is one of the *cheefest* acts of the government of a Common-wealth; so it requireth the cheifest and supremest *power* and authority; *qua quidem potestas legislativa primario in Deo est*, which legislative power is primarily in God, and is communicated unto Kings (saith he) *per quandam participationem*, according to the saying of the wise man, *Heare O ye Kings, because power is given unto you of the Lord.* And Saint *Augustine* calleth *Jura humana jura imperatorũ, quia ipsa jura humana per imperatores*: all humane lawes are the lawes of Emperors or Kings; because they are made by them; and the Holy Ghost speaking of the Kings of *Judah*, saith, *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law giver from betweene his feete*; to teach us, that whosoever swayeth the *Scepter* hath the right to be the *Law-maker*, which is one of the prime prerogatives of Soveraignty.

Suarez. l. 3. c. 8. n. 8.

Sapi 6.

Aug. in Iohan. tract. 6.

Gen. 49. 10.

2. *Jus nobilitandi.*

2. *Jus nobilitandi*, the right of appointing the *principall* Officers of State; to cry up any of all His Subjects, whom the King will honour, as *Pharaoh* did *Ioseph*, and *Ahasuerus* did *Haman* and *Mordecai*, and to give them *titles* of honour, *per codicillos honorarios, aut per diplomata sua*, as to make Dukes, Marquesses, Barons, Knights, &c. doth belong onely unto the King, that hath onely the supreme Majestie. But

But if the *Dukes*, Earles, and Barons be so *pliable* to the *Puritan* faction, to put downe the *spirituall* Lords, I doubt that e're long the King shall have but *few* Nobility; when not *onely* the Mechanicks and Rusticks will *all* cry out against this *Lordlinesse*, and say, as they did in the rebellion of *Jacke Cade* and *Wat Tyler*.

When *Adam* delv'd, and *Eve* span,
Who was then the Gentleman?

It is the Doctrine of the *anabaptisticall Puritans*, that there should be no Degrees of Schooles, nor titles of honour among men.

And why should we now *indure* so many titles of vanity, and so many *vaine* honours to vapour it over us? but the *Puritan* Clergy also, seeing themselves deprived of their *due* honour, and made all *equall*, all as base as *Jeroboams* Priests, will be *apt* enough to blow up this conceit, and to put it into the *Creed* of all the *vulgar*, that God made us all *equall*, and to be *Lords* is but to be *tyrants* over their Brethen; and the *Presbytery*, whose *pride* could not obey the *authority* of their Bishops, will not abide the *superiority* of any Lords; but if they cannot *Lord* it themselves, will be sure to take away the *Lordship* from all others.

And therefore if the Nobility be not *wiser*, then to lay our honours in the *dust*, (as I see some about His Majestie, that would faine be the Priests to *bury* it, which meere *policie*, though they wanted piety, should prohibit) they shall finde that

Jam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet. *Virgil. Æneid. l. 1.*

When our *Cottages* are burnt, their next *Pallaces* shall not escape the fire; but through our sides their *Honours* shall be killed, and buried without honour.

3. *Jus legitimandi*, the right of *legitimation* belongs unto the King, without which *legitimation* the Lawyers tell us, that as the world now standeth, a mighty *inconvenience* would happen unto the Crowne, if the King granted not this *grace* to them that want it. 3. *Jus legitimandi.*

4. *Jus appellationes recipiendi*, the right of taking *notice* of causes, and of judging the same by the *last* appeale definitively, doth alwayes belong to the *supreme* Majestie; because that as Saint *Paul* appealed unto *Cæsar*, so the *last* appeale is to the *highest* 4. *Jus appellationes recipiendi.* Act. 25. 11.

highest Soveraigne, from whom there lyeth *none* appeale, but onely to *him* that shall judge all the *Judges* of the earth.

5. Honoris restituendi. 5. *Jus restituendi in integrum*, the right to restore men *attainted*, or banished, or condemned to death, unto their *Country*, wealth, and honour, is likewise a part of the *royall* right: So *Osorius* saith, that *Immanuel* King of *Portugall* restored *James* sonne of *Fernandus*, and his brother *Dionysius*, and others, unto their forfeited honours; and so not *onely* the Scripture sheweth how *David* pardoned *Absolon* and *Shimei*, two wicked Rebels, and *Solomon* pardoned *Abiathar* that were all worthy of death; but also Saint *Augustine* speaking of other Kings and Emperours, saith, *judicibus statuendum est ne liceat in rem datam sententiam revocare*, the Judges may not *pardon* a man condemned to death; *numquid & ipse Imperator sub hac lege erit?* but shall not the Emperour or King *pardon* him? are they likewise under this *Law* of restraint? by no meanes: *Nam ipsi soli licet revocare sententiam, & rem mortis absolvere, & ipsi ignoscere*; for he and he alone, that is, the *Emperour* or King, may revoke the sentence, and *absolve* him that is guilty of death. And so our King according to this his *undeniable* right, hath most *graciously*, and not seldome, offered his *pardon* unto these *intolerable* Rebels, a pardon not to be *paralleld* in any Historie, nor to be *believed*, unlesse we had seene it, that a man could be so farre inclined to *clemency* and mercy, as to remit such *transcendent* impiety, which will render them the more *odious* both to God and man; and their names the more *infamous* to all posterity, that after they had filled themselves with all *kinde* of wickednesse, with *incredible* transgressions, they should be found contemners of so *favourable* a pardon.

Osorius de rebus Emman. p. 6.

2. Reg. 2. 26.

Veniam criminosis indulgere.

Our Kings unparalleld clemency and pitty towards the Rebels.

But though it be the Kings *right* to pardon faults, and to restore offenders; yet *herein* all Princes should take great heed (especially when they have power to take revenge, for sometimes the sinners may be like the sonnes of *Zervia*, too strong for *David*) how they pardon those *great* crimes that are committed to the *dishonour* of God, and doe so farre *provoke* him to anger, as to plague both the *doers* and the *sufferers* of them; because, that although they be *soluti legibus suis*, not bound to

2. Sam. 3. 39.

their

their owne Lawes, yet they are not *soluti ratione & præcepti divini*, but they are bound to *observe* Gods Lawes, and to punish the *transgressors* of his Commandements; or if they doe not when they can doe it, they shall render a *strict* account to God for all their omissions, as they may see it in the example of King *Saul*. *Arnisæus l.1 c.3. pag 69.* 1. Sam. 15. 9.

6. *Jus convocandi*, the right of calling *Synods*, Parliaments, Dyets, and the like, were the *rights* of the Kings of *Israel*, and are the just *Prerogatives* of the Kings of *England*, howsoever this faction of the Parliament hath sought to *wrest* it, as they do all *other* rights out of the Kings hands, by their presumption to call their *Schismaticall* Synod; to which they have no more colour of right, then to call a *Parliament*. 6. *Jus convocandi Synodos, Parliamenta, &c.*

7. *Jus excudendi*, the right of *coyning* money, to give it *value*, to stampe his *armes* or his imige upon it, (as our Saviour saith, *Whose Image and superscription is this? and they say to him Cæsars*) is the *proper* right of *Cæsar*, the prerogative of the King. 7. *Jus monetæ excudendi.* Matth. 22. 20.

The second *sort* of the Kings right is *circa magistratus*, and containeth, *jurisdiction*, rule, creation of officers, appointing of circuits, provinces, judgements, censures, institution of Schooles and Colledges, collation of dignities, receiving of fidelities, and *abundance* more; whereof I intend not to speake at this time, but referre my Reader to *Arnisæus, de jure Majestatis*, if he desires to be informed of these particulars. 2. About the Magistrates. *Arnis. l. 2. c. 2.*

And as these and the like are *jura Regalia*, the rights of *Majestie* in the time of *peace*; so when peace cannot continue, it doth *properly* belong unto the King, and to *none* else, but to him that hath the *Soveraignty*, whose right it is *alone*, to make *warre*, either to *succour* his allyes, or to *revenge* great injuries, or for any the *like* just causes; and, as he seeth *cause*, to conclude *Peace*, to send *Ambassadors*, to negotiate with *forreigne* States, and the like, are the *rights* of Kings, and the *indelebile* characters of *Soveraignty*, which whosoever violateth, and endeavoureth to purloine them from the King, doth with *Promotheus* steale fire from Heaven, which the Gods would not suffer (as the Poets faigne) to goe unrevenged.

And these things (so farre as I can finde) the King never parted with them unto his Subjects; and therefore whosoever pretendeth to an *inderived* power to doe any of these, and exempteth himselfe from the Kings *right* herein, *resisteth the ordinance of God*, and is guilty of *High-Treason*, what *pretext* soever he brings, saith the *Advocate* of *Paris*.

Ioh. Beda p. 26.

Ita etiam reges Ægypti quibus voluntas pro lege est, leges tamen instituta in cogendis pecuniis quotidianoque victu sequebantur. Aubanus.

And there be *some* things which our Kings have *granted* unto their Subjects, and *restrained* themselves from their *full* right; as the *use* of that power, which makes *new* Lawes, or repeales the *old*, or layeth any *taxe* or summes of monies upon his Subjects, without the *consent* of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; and it may be *some* other particulars, which the Lawyers know better then I.

What things kings have granted.

And all these *Priviledges* of the Subjects are but *limitations* and restrictions of the Kings right, made by *themselves* unto their people; and therefore where the *Law* cannot be produced, to confirme *such* and such Liberties and Priviledges granted unto them, I say there the Kings power is *absolute*, and the Subject ought not in *such* cases to determine *any* thing to the disadvantage of the King: because all these *Liberties* that we have, are injoyed by vertue of the Kings *grant*, as you may see in the ratification of *Magna Charta*; where the King saith, *We have granted and given all these Liberties.*

9. Hen 3.

But I could never see it *produced*, where the King *granted* unto his Subjects that they might *force* him, and compell him with a *strong* hand, by an *Army* of Souldiers to doe what they will, or else to take away either his *Crowne* or his *Life*; this *Priviledge* was never granted, because this deprives the King of his *supremacy*, and puts him in the condition of a *Subject*, and would ever prove an occasion of *rebellion*, when the people upon every *discontent* would take Armes against their King.

And therefore this *present* resistance is a meere *usurpation* of the Kings right, a *rebellion* against his Lawes, an *High Treason* against his person, and a *resistance of the ordinance of God*, which he spe of *deadly* sinnes can bring none other fruit then *damnation*, saith the Apostle.

CHAP. XIV.

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Sheweth the Kings grants unto his people to be of three sorts. Which ought to be observed: the Act of excluding the Bishops out of Parliament discussed: the Kings Oath at his Coronation: how it obligeth him: and how Statutes have beene procured and repealed.

2. WE are to consider how *farre* the King is obliged to *observe* his promise, and to make *good* these Liberties and Priviledges unto his Subjects; where I speake not how farre the *fathers* grant may oblige the *sonne*, or the predecessor his successor, who cannot be deprived of his *right* dominion by *any* act of his predecessors; but for the *rights* of his dominion, how farre *precedent* grants, and the *customs* of their continuance, with the *desuetude* and non-claime of his right, may *strengthen* them unto the Subject, and *oblige* the successors to *observe* them, I leave it unto the *Lawyers* and Civilians to dispute: but I am here to discusse how *farre* the King, that hath *promised* and taken his *oath* to observe his Lawes, and make good all *priviledges* granted to his Subjects, is *bound* in conscience to keepe and observe them: Touching which, you must understand that these *grants* of immunities and favours are of three speciall kindes.

2. The Kings obligation to observe his grants.

Peter de là Primaudaie saith, Lawes annexed to the Crowne the Prince cannot so abrogate them, but his Successor may disanull whatsoever he hath done in prejudice of them, *p.* 597.

1. Of *grace*:
2. By *fraud*:
3. Through *feare*.

} For,

1. The King that hath his *full* right, either by *conquest* or *succession* over his people, to governe them as a most *absolute* Monarch, and out of his meere *grace* and favour, to *sweeten* the subjection of his people, and to binde them with the *greater* love and affection to his obedience, doth *misnere sua jura*, restraine his *absolute* right, bestow *liberties* upon his people, and take his *oath* for their security, that he will *observe* them, is bound in all *conscience* to performe them, and can never be *freed* from injustice before God and man, if he *transgresse* them;

1. All grants of grace ought to be observed.

Quia-

Quia volenti non fit injuria, because they doe him no *injury*, when he doth *voluntarily*, either *totally* resigne, or in some *particularity* diminish his owne *right*; but after he hath thus *firmely* done it, he can never *justly* goe from it: and therefore King *James* saith, that a King which governeth not by his *Lawes*, can neither be *accountable* to God for his administration, nor have a *happy* and established raigne; because it cannot be, but that the people seeing their King *failing* of his duty, will be alwayes *murmuring* and defective in their fidelity. And

The true Law of free Monarchs, p. 203.

Yet the Kings breach of *oath* doth neither forfeit his *right*, nor warrant their *disloyalty*: because *another* mans sinne doth no way lessen mine offence, and neither *God* nor the *King* granted this *priviledge* unto Subjects, to *rebell* and take Armes against their Soveraigne, when they *pretend* he hath broken his promise.

2. Grants obtained through fraud, which to be observed.

2. When the King, through the *subtle* perswasions of his people, that pretend *one* thing and intend *another*, shall be seduced to grant those things that are full of inconveniences; as our *King* was *over reached*, and no better then meerly *cheated* by the faction of this Parliament, to grant the *continuance* of it, till it should be dissolved with the consent of both Houses, and the like Lawes that are procured by meere *fraud*, that soonest over-reacheth the *best* meaning Kings. I answer with the old Proverbe, *Caveat emptor*, he ought to have beene as *wise* to prevent them, as they were *subtle* to circumvent him; and

Josh. 9. 20.

therefore, as *Joshua*, being deceived by the *Gibeonites*, could not *alter* his promise, nor *breake* his league with them, *lest wrath should fall upon him*, so no more should any other King breake promise in the like case.

Psal. 15. 5.

But you must observe, that the *Psalmist* saith, *The good man which shall dwell in the Tabernacle of the Lord, is he that sweareth unto his neighbour and disappointeth him not, though it were to his owne hinderance*: marke, though it were to his *owne hinderance* never so much, he must *performe* it; but what if he hath *promised* and sworne that which will be to the great *dishonour* of God, to the *hinderance* of thousands of others, and it may be to the *ruine* of a whole Kingdome, which is a great deale more

Quicquid fit dolo malo, annullat factum & imponit pœnam. Summa Angel.

then

then his *owne* hinderance, is a King *bound*, or is any man else obliged to *performe* such a promise, or to keepe *such* an oath? to tell you mine *owne* judgement, I thinke he ought *not* to performe it; and our owne Law tels us what *grants* soever are obtained from the King, under the broad Seale by *fraud* and deceit, *those* grants are void in Law; therefore, seeing the *act* for the *perpetuity* of this Parliament was obtained, *dolo pessimo*, to the great *dishonour* of God, and the *ruine* both of Church and State, when their *pretence* was very good; though the *goodnesse* of his Majestie in the tendernesse of his *conscience* was still loath to allow himselfe the liberty to dissolve it, untill he had *other* juster and more *cleare* causes to pronounce it no Parliament, as the *abusing* of his grant, to the raising of an *Army*, and the upholding of a *Rebellion* against their Soveraigne; yet I believe he might *safely* have done it long agone, without the *least* violation of Gods Law, when their evill intentions were *openly* discovered by those *Armies* which they raised. For I doubt not to affirme it, with the Author of *The sacred Prerogative of Christian Kings*, p. 144. if any *good* Prince, or his royall *Ancestors* have beene *thrust* out of their sacred *right* by *fraud* or force, he may at the *fittest* opportunity, when God in his wise providence offereth the *occasion*, resume it, especially when the Subjects do *abuse* the Kings concessions, to the dammage of *Soveraignty*, so that it redounds also to the prejudice either of the *Church* or *Common-wealth*.

3. When the King, through *feare*, not such as the Parliaments feare is, who *were afraid where no feare was*, and were frighted with *dreames* and causelesse jealousies; but *that* feare, which is *reall*, and not *little*, but such as may fall *in fortem & constantem virum*, doth passe any Law, especially that is prejudiciall to the *Church*, and injurious to *many* of his Subjects; I say, that when he shall be *freed* from that feare, he is not onely freed from the *obligation* of that Law, but he is also *obliged* to doe his *uttermost* endeavour to *annull* the same: it is true that his *feare* may justly free him from all *blame* at the passing of it, as the feare of the *theefe* may cleare me from all *fault* in delivering my *purse* unto him; because these are no *voluntary*

3. Grants gotten by force not to be observed.

acts; and all acts are adjudged good or evill according to the disposition of the *will*; the same being like the golden bridle that *Minerva* was said to put upon *Pegasus* to guide him and to turne him as she pleased: but when his feare is *past*, and God hath delivered him *from the insurrection of wicked doers*, if his will gives consent to what before he did unwilling, who can free the *greatest* Monarch from this fault?

The will must never consent to forced acts that are unlawfull.

His Majesties answer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons, 16. *Iulii*, p. 8.

Therefore His Majestie *confessing* (which we that *saw* the whole proceedings of those *tumultuous* routs, that affrighted all the good *Protestants* and the *Loyall* Subjects, doe *know* that it could not be *otherwise*) that *he was driven out of* London *for feare of his life*; I conclude that the act of excluding the Bishops out of Parliament, being past after his *flight* out of *London* can be no free, nor just, nor lawfull act; and the King when he is more fully informed of many *particulars* about this act, that is *prejudiciall* to the Church of Christ, and so injurious to all his servants, the *Clergy*, whose rights and priviledges the King promised and *sware* at His Coronation to maintaine, cannot continue it, in my judgement, and be innocent.

Ob. Pag 31.

But this is answered by the answerer to Doctor *Ferne*, that *he is no more bound to defend the rights of the Clergy by his oath, then the rest of the lawes formerly enacted, whereof any may be abrogated without perjury, when they are desired to be annulled by the Kingdome.*

Sol. His Majesties answer to the remonstrance or declaration of the Lords and Commons 26. of *May*. 1642.

To which I say, that as His Majestie confesseth, there are two speciall questions demanded of the King at his Coronation.

1, Sir, *Will you grant and keepe, and by your oath confirme to the people of* England, *the lawes and customes to them granted by the Kings of* England, *your lawfull and religious predecessors?*

And the King answereth, I *grant* and promise to keepe them.

2. After such questions, as concerne all the *commonalty* of this Kingdome, both Clergy and Laity, as they are his Subjects, one of the Bishops reads this admonition to the King before the people with a loud voice;

Our Lord and King, we beseech you to pardon and to grant, and to preserve unto us and to the Churches committed to our charge all Canonicall priviledges, and due law and justice, and

that

that you would protect and defend us, as every good King in His Kingdome ought to be the protector and defendor of the Bishops, and the Churches under their government.

And the King answereth,

With a *willing* and devout heart I *promise* and grant my *pardon*, and that I will *preserve* and maintaine to you and the Churches committed to your charge, *all Canonicall Priviledges*, and due law and justice, and that I will be your protector and defender to my power by the assistance of God, as every good King in His Kingdome, in right, *ought* to protect and defend the *Bishops* and Churches under their Government.

Then the King laying his hand upon the booke, saith, *the things which I have before promised, I shall performe and keepe, so helpe mee God, and the contents of this Booke.* The Kings oath at His Coronation two fold.

Where I beseech all men to observe, that here is a *two fold* promise, and so a two fold *oath*.

1. The one to all the Commonalty and people of *England*, Clergy and Laity; and so whatsoever he promiseth, may by the consent of the *parties*, to whom the *right* was transferred, be remitted and altered by the *representative* body in Parliament, *quia volenti non fit injuria*; and the rule holds good, *quibus modis contrahitur contractus, iisdem dissolvitur*; and therefore as any compact or contract is made good and binding, so it may be made *void* and dissolved, *mutuo contrahentium assensu*; by the mutuall assent of both parties; that is, any compact, where God hath not a speciall interest in the contract, as he hath in the *conjugall* contract betwixt man and wife, and the *politicke* covenant betwixt the King and His Subjects; which therefore cannot be dissolved by the consent of the parties untill God, who hath the *chiefest* hand in the contract, gives his *assent* to the dissolution; and so, when things are dedicated for the service of God, or *Priviledges* granted for his honour; neither donor nor receiver, can alienate the *gift* or annull that *Priviledge* without the leave and consent of God, that was the principall party in the concession, as it appeareth in the example of *Ananias*, and is confirmed by all Casuists. The first part of the oath. *Populi Anglicani.* *Vide D. p.* 165. Contracts wherein God is interessed can not be dissolved without God.

2. The other part of the oath is made to the *Clergy* in particular

The second part of the oath. *Clericis Ecclesiasticis. D. p.* 165.

ticular; and so also with their *consent*, some things I confesse, may perhaps be revoked, but *without* their consent, not any thing can be altered, in my understanding, without *injustice*; for with what equity can the Laity vote away the *rights* of the Clergy, when the Clergy doe *absolutely* deny their assent? just as if the *Clergy* should give away the *lands* of the Laity; or as if I had lent the King ten thousand pounds, upon the publique assurance of King and both Houses, to be *repaid* againe; and they *without* mine assent, shall vote the remission of this debt, for some great *benefit*, that they conceive redounding to the common wealth; by which *vote* I should beleeve my selfe to be no *better* then meerely *cheated*; or as if the *Parliament* without the *assent* of the *Londoners*, should passe an *act*, that all the *money* which they lent, should be remitted for the releiving of the *State*; I doubt not but they would *conclude* that *act* very *unjust*; and so is this *act* against the Bishops; because the Kings *obligation* to a *particular* body, personall or politique, cannot be dispensed with by the representative kingdome without the releasement of that body, to whom the King is obliged.

The party to whom the bond is made must release the bonds.

For I find that all the Casuists will tell you, that *juramentum promissorium ita obligat, ut invito creditore, non possit in melius commutari; quia aliter justitia & veritas non servarentur inter homines*: and it is their common tenet, that it cannot be dispensed with, *quia per promissum acquiritur jus cui fit promissio, & utilitas unius non sufficit ut alter suo jure privetur*, the benefit of others must not deprive mee of my right; This point is so cleare, that neither Scholler, nor any man of reason or conscience will denie it.

Suarez. de juramento promiss. l. 2. *c.* 12. *n.* 14.

Therefore to perswade the King that is bound by his oath, to preserve the Rights & Privileges of the Church & Clergy, to cast out the Bishops out of their *rights*, or to take away their lands, without their owne *consent*, (whom the King by his oath hath obliged himselfe to *protect*;) I can not see how they can do it without *great* iniquity, or His Majestie consent to it, and be innocent, when he is fully *informed* of the rights of his Clergy; whereas *otherwise* the most *religious* Prince may be subject to *mistakings*, and so *unwittingly* admit that, which *willingly* he would

would never have granted: And if they can not *perswade* him to doe this without *iniquity*, how dare they goe about to *force* and compell him against conscience, to commit this and such other horrible *impietye*? but I assure my selfe that God, who hath blessed our King, and preserved him hitherto without blame, as being forced to what he did, or not *throughly* understanding what was out *right*, the Bishops being imprisoned & not suffered to *informe* him nor to answer for themselves, will still arme His Majestie with that *resolution*, as shall never yeild to their *impetuousnesse*, to transcend the limits of his owne most upright conscience.

Yet still it is urged, they were excluded by *act* of Parliament, therefore their exclusion cannot be *unjust*, as being done by the wisedome of the *whole* State, and the King should not desire it to be altered. *Ob.*

I answer that all *Parliaments* are not allwayes guided by an *unerring* spirit, but were many times swayed by the *heads* of the most powerfull faction, which are instances rather of their *unsteady* weakenesse, then of their *iust* power; when forsaking the guidance of their *lawfull* head, they suffered themselves to be lead by *popular* pretenders, as when *Canutus* prevailed by his *armes*, he could have a Parliament to resolve, that his *title* to the Crowne was the best; when *Hen.* 4. had an army of 60000 men, he could have a Parliament to depose *Rich.* 2. and conferre the *Crowne* upon himselfe; when *Edw.* Duke of *Yorke* grew powerfull, he could have a Parliament to determine the raigne of *Hen.* 6. and leave him only the *name* of King, for his life, but give the very *Kingdome* unto the Duke, under the names of *protector* and *regent*; and then he could procure the Parliament to declare that *Hen.* 4. *Hen.* 5. and *Hen.* 6. were but Kings *de facto*, *non de iure*; so *Rich.* the 3. as meere an usurper as any, could notwithstanding procure a Parliament, to declare him a *lawfull* King: and *Hen.* 7. could procure the forementioned acts, that were made in favour of *Edw.* 4. and *Rich.* 3. to be annulled; and *Hen.* 8. could have a Parliament to justifie and authorize his divorces, and Queene *Elizab.* could have a Parliament to make it high treason for any man to say, that *Sol.* The case of our affairs. p. 17. How powerfull factions have procured Parliaments to doe most unjust things. *Turba tremini sequitur fortunam, ut semper & odit damnatos.* Iuven. Sa. 13. p. 70.

When Kings were most powerfull, they could get the Parliaments to yeeld to what Statutes they thought best; when the Lords or faction were most powerfull, they forced their Kings to make what Statutes they liked best.

that the *Queene* could not by *Act* of Parliament binde and dispose the *rights* and titles, which any person whatsoever might have unto the Crowne: when as we know, it was adjudged in *Hen. 7.* that no *Act* of Parliament, nor yet an *Attainder* by Parliament, can disable the *right* heire to the Crowne; because the *descent* of the Crowne upon him purges all *disabilities* whatsoever, and makes him every way capable thereof.

Thus, as the Parliaments, when they were most *prevalent*, caused their Kings *unwillingly* to yeeld many things *against* right; so the Kings, growing most *powerfull*, prevailed to worke the Parliament to consent to very *unjust* conclusions; and therefore it is *inconsequent* to say, this *exclusion* must be *just*, because it is past by an *Act* of Parliament.

The Case of our affaires. *p.* 20.

And therefore, as in the 15 yeare of *Edw. 3.* the King being *unwillingly* drawne to consent to certaine Articles, *prejudicial* to the Crowne, and to promise to seale the *Statute* thereupon made, lest *otherwise* his affaires in hand might have beene ruinated, (which we conceive to be just in *like* manner now, the King very *unwillingly* drawne to passe this Act for the exclusion of the *Clergy*, which is most prejudiciall both to the *Crowne* and the *Church*, and a mighty *dishonour* unto God himselfe, lest otherwise *more* mischiefe might have followed, when he hoped that this would have *appeased* the fury of that *prevalent* faction, which now the Kingdome seeth it did not.)

Statutes unwillingly procured from the King, repealed.

Another Statute was made the same yeare, reciting the former matter, that was enacted, in these words; *It seemed to the said Earles, Barons, and other wise men, that since the Statute did not of our free will proceed, the same to be void, and ought not to have the name, nor strength of a statute, and therefore by their counsell and assent, wee have decreed the said Statute to bee void, &c.* So I hope our *Earles* and *Barons*, and the *rest*, will be so *wise* and so *just*, both to the King and to the Church, that seeing this *Statute* proceeded not of the Kings *free* will, as I *believe* their owne *conscience* knoweth, and doe *presume* His Majestie will acknowledge, they likewise will consent, that the King may make it void againe.

S.

§.

Certaine quares discussed, but not resolved; the end for which God ordained Kings; the prayse of a just rule; Kings ought to be more just then all others in three respects; and what should most especially move them to rule their people justly.

AND here I must further crave leave, to be *resolved* in certaine *Quares* and doubts, wherein I would very gladly be *satisfied*; for, seeing, as I told you before, there are *some* rights of royalty, which are *inseperabilia à majestate*, which the King *ought* not, and which indeed he *cannot* grant away; as there be *some* things which he *may* forgoe, though he need not; I demand,

1. Whether any *positive* Act, Statute, or Law, that is, either *ex diametro*, or *ex obliquo*, either *directly*, or by *consequent*, or any *other* way *contradictory*, or transgressive to the Law of God, ought to be *kept* and observed; wherein I *believe*, and constantly maintaine that it *ought not*: and I say further, that by the Word of God, not any *Lay* men, be they never so *noble*, never so *learned*, and never so many; but the *Clergy*, be they never so *poore*, and never so much *dis-esteemed*, ought to be the *resolvers* of this point, what is *repugnant* and what *consonant* to the Law of God; because *the Priests lips must preserve knowledge, and the people must seeke the Law at his mouth*; therefore it may be conceived no *Statute* can be *rightly* made, that is, not *assented* to and approved (as all our *former* Statutes were) by the *Bishops*, that are the *chiefest* of the Clergy, to be no wayes *contrary* to the Law of God. 1. *Quæri.* Malach. 2. 7.

2. Whether the King, that is an *absolute* Monarch, to whom God hath committed the *charge* and government of his people, can without *offence* to God, *change* this *forme* of government, from a *Monarchicall* to an *Aristocraticall*, or a *Democraticall* forme of government; which may be *believed* he cannot; because, though as I shewed out of Saint *Augustine*, the *worser* forme, invented by men, may *lawfully* be changed into a better: yet the *best*, which is *onely* and primarily ordained by God, 2. *Quæri.*

God, cannot be changed into a *worser* without offence?

3. Quare. 3. Whether the King can passe away that *power*, authority, and right, which God hath *given* him, and *without* which he cannot governe and protect his people, that God hath committed under his charge; wherein it may be conceived he cannot; because God must *discharge* him from the charge that he *imposed* upon him, before he can be *freed* and excused from it; but, as the *Bishop*, on whom the Lord hath laid the charge of *soules*, cannot lay *aside* this charge when he pleaseth; so no more can the *King* lay aside the charge of the *government*, nor part with that power and right*, whereby he is *inabled* to governe them, and *without* which he cannot governe them, untill God, that *laid* this charge upon him, and gave him *full* power and authority to doe it, by some undenyable dispensation gives him his Writ of ease to discharge him.

* Otherwise then by substitution. *Rege absente, & durante beneplacito*; or, *quamdiu se bene gesserint sub stituti.*

4. Quare. 4. Whether such an *Act* or Statute, which *disinableth* any King to dissolve his *Dyet*, Councell, Assembly, or Parliament, and *inableth* some subtle *faction* of his Subjects, in *some* sort, to *countermand* their King, be not *derogatory* to the *inseperable* right of Majestie, *destructive* to the *power* of government, and *prejudiciall* to all the *loyall* Subjects, and therefore *void* of it selfe, and not to be observed; because *such* an act *ought* not to have beene concluded: wherein I leave the resolution to be determined by the *Judges* and the *Bishops* of this Land, and I will onely crave leave to set downe what may be thought herein, *viz.* that such an *Act* or Statute is clearely and absolutely void.

The Act for the indissolubility of any Parliament believed by many, to be of it selfe void.

1. Reason 1. Because that hereby the King may be said, after a *sort*, and in *some* kinde, to change the *fundamentall* constitution and government of his Kingdome, from an *absolute* Monarchie to another *species* and forme of government, either *Aristocraticall*, or *Democraticall*, or some *other* forme, emergent out of all these, *such* as we know not how to terme it, and such as was *never* knowne from the beginning of the world: a mixture indeed, which, I told you before, no *absolute* King can be thought to doe without offence, unlesse he can prove his *licence* from God to doe the same.

2. Because

2. Because that hereby he may be said to *denude* himselfe of his right, and by *depriving* himselfe of this power, to *disenable* himselfe to discharge that duty, which God doth *necessarily* require at his hands; that is, to *governe* his people, by *protecting* the innocent, and *punishing* the wrong doer; and when God shall call the King to an *account*, why he did not *thus* governe his people, and *defend* those poore Subjects that were *loyall* and faithfull both to *God* and their *King*, according to the *charge* that he laid upon him, and the *right* and power which he gave him to *discharge* it: It may be feared, it will be no *sufficient* answer for *any* King to say, but I have so laid away that *power*, and parted with that *right* unto my Lords and Commons, that I could not doe it; for it may be asked, *where* doth God require him, or *when* did he authorize him to *divest* himselfe of that authority wherewith he *indued* him? how then can he *doe* it, to the *undoing* of many people, without an *assured* leave from God? therefore, as *that* Act which was made *unrepealable*, was adjudged *no* Act, but *immediately* void, because it was *destructive* to the very power of Parliament*, and if any act should be made to destroy common right, or to hinder the publique service of God, or to disinable the right heire to injoy the Crowne, or the like, those Acts are void of themselves; so *any* Statute that *disinableth* the Kings government must needs be void *ipso facto*; as I have partly shewed in my *Discovery of Mysteries*. p. 32. 2. Reason.

* Which may repeale their owne Acts, but not destroy their just power, nor themselves, as it seemes the the Act of excluding the Bishops doth, and takes away as it were the soule of the Parliament.

3. Because it may be believed *no* King would ever grant *such* an Act, unlesse he were either *subtilly* deceived and seduced, or *forcibly* compelled thereunto, for feare of some *inavoidable* extremity, which (according to all *outward* appearance) could not otherwise be prevented, without the *concessions* of such *unspeakable* disadvantages; as a man gives away his *sword* when he seeth his *life* in danger, if he deliver it not: Therefore the *premisses* considered. 3. Reason.

5. The *Quære* is, whether *any* King should be *bound* and obliged to observe *such* grants, and make good such *Acts*, as are thus *fraudulently* obtained, or *forcibly* wrested from him, and are thus *contradictory* to Gods will, thus *prejudicial* to the 5. *Quæst.* In all these *Quæries* I conclude nothing whatsoever I believe,

power of government, and thus *destructive* to his Subjects; which for the fore-said reasons is by many men believed he is not; but, as this *right* was *unduly* procured from him, so, when God *inableth* him, he may *justly* acquire it, and re-assume it, without any *offence* to God, or the *least* reluctancie to his owne conscience.

* As I know not whether it doth or not; neither will I determine it,

And if this *Act*, that hath passed in our *Parliament*, makes it immediately to be *no* Parliament *, as being now *another* forme of government, which the Divines hold, ought *not* to be effected; then certainly *all* Acts that passed *since* are no Acts, but are *void* and invalid of themselves.

Or be it granted, that the *Act* for the *perpetuity* of Parliament doth not *annull* the Parliament; yet it is *doubted* by many, whether the Parliament may not *themselves*, without the Kings pronouncing it void or dissolved, make it *no* Parliament; when of *Counsellors* for the King, they become *Traytors* unto the King; and of *Patriots*, that should *protect* the Commonwealth, they become *Parricides* and *Catilines* unto the same; because these *duties*, being as the *soule*, the *life*, and the *end* of Parliaments, when these are *changed*, to be the *bane* and *death* of King and Kingdome, it is *doubted* how it can be a *Parliament*, any more then a dead *carkasse* that is deprived of his *soule*, can be said to be a *man*; for the *circumstances* and ceremonies of *times*, *places*, and the like, are not *essentialia Parliamenti*, but as *accidentia*, *quæ possunt adesse & abesse sine interitu subjecti*, and may be *ad bene esse*, but are as *Panthilio's* in respect of the *end* and *essence* of a Parliament.

Quid prodest tibi nomen usurpare alienum, & vocari quod non es?

And therefore, as God promiseth *infallibly* to doe a thing, for example, that *He will not faile David*; *his seed shall endure for ever*; and of *Eli*, *he said indeed*, *that his house and the house of his father should walke before him for ever*; yet this *unchangeable* God, when the *change* is wrought in *David*, or his *seed*, or in *Eli* his house, *David* doth immediately say, *Thou hast abhorred and forsaken thine Anointed, and art displeased at him*; and of his promise to *Eli*, God saith in the same place, *now be it farre from me*; so it may be conceived, that when any Parliament changeth its *nature*, faileth in its very *being*, and of a *preserva-*

Psal. 89. 34. 1. Sam. 2. 30.

Psal. 89 37. 1. Sam. 2. 30.

tive

tive becomes a *poyson*, both to the King and Kingdome; the King and Kingdome may then, without any *change* in themselves, or *failing* of their former promises, *justly* say, they are no Parliament; but, as the *Romans* said unto a worthy *Patriot*, that had *formerly* saved them from the *Senones*, and at last became an *enemie* to the State, *We did honour thee as our deliverer*, when thou didest save us from the *Senones*, *sed jam nobis es quasi unus ex Senonibus*; so may we say of any *Parliament*, that turnes to be the *destruction* of a Common-wealth; that it is but a *shadow*, and no *substance*; a *den* of *theeves* and no *Parliament* of *Counsellors*: And I assure my selfe much *more* may be spoken, and *many* insanswerable arguments may be produced to confirme this to be most true: so I have set downe what I conceive to be true about the Kings grants and concessions unto his people, and his obligations to observe them.

I should never acknowledge *Judas* after he *betrayed* his master, and resolved to *persist* in his wickednesse to be an *Apostle* of Jesus Christ, no more then I should take the Temple of *Jerusalem* to be the *house* of God, so long as it continued the *den* of theeves.

And if His *Majestie* (whom I *unfainedly* love, and *heartily* honour, and in whose *service*, as I have most *willingly* spent my *slender* fortunes, so I shall as *readily* hazard my *dearest* life) be *offended* with me for setting downe *any* of these things, that my conscience tels me to be *true*, and *needfull* to be knowne, and my *duty* to declare them; I must answer in all *humility*, and with all *reverence*, that, remembring what *Lucian* saith, *κακὸν σύμφυτον ἐς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, many men shunning the *smoake* fell into the *fire*; and that *Job* saith, *Timentes pruinam, opprimentur à nive*, which S. *Gregory* moralizeth of them, that fearing the *frost* of mans *anger*, which they may tread under *foot*, shall be overwhelmed with the *snow* of Gods vengeance, that fals from *Heaven*, and cannot be avoided; I had rather suffer the *anger* of any *mortall* man, then endure the *wrath* of the *great* God; for now I have *freed* my *soule*, let what will come of my *body*: I will *feare God*, and *honour my King*.

5. We are to consider the *end* for which God ordained the *King* to rule and governe his people; and that is, to preserve *justice* and to maintaine *peace* throughout all the parts of his dominions; for as the *Subjects* may neither *murmure* nor *resist* their Soveraigne, at any time, for any cause, so the King must not doe any *wrong* or injustice to his meanest Subject; neither

5. The end for which God ordained Kings.

doe we presse the *obedience* of the Subjects to give *licence* unto th: King to use them as he listeth; but we tell Kings their duties, as well as we doe to the subjects, and that is, to doe justice unto the afflicted, and to execute true *judgement* among all his people: for as *Plato* saith, πασιν ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἅμα πάντες ἀνάγκη ὑμνεῖν τὸ τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὄνομα. all men cry out with one mouth how beautifull a thing is temperance and righteousnesse; *Cicero* calleth her the *Lady* and Mistresse of all vertues: and *Pindarus* saith, that χρύσεον ἄνθος καὶ χρυσέα αἰδοῖα, a golden eye and a golden countenance are allwayes to be seene in the face of justice, and that *Jupiter Soter* dwelleth together with *Themis*; whereby he would give us to understand, *regem servatorem esse iustum*; that a King must preserve his people by justice, as *Clemens Alexand.* expoundeth it; because as *Theognis pag.* 431. saith ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετή ἐστι, *justice* is that vertue, which comprehends all vertues in it selfe; and therefore *Solomon* saith, that *the Kings throne is established by righteousnesse: and justice exalteth a Nation*, making it to flourish & famous; & injustice destroyeth the people, when a *Kingdome is translated from nation to nation because of unrighteousnesse*; the same being as it was laid of *Carthage* fuller of *sinnes* then of people; as you see the Monarchy of the *Assyrians* was translated unto the *Medes* and *Persians*, and the most famous republ. of the *Romanes* was spoiled, when forgetting their pristine *honesty*, they became unjust,

Pfal. 82. 3. Zachar. 7. 9.

Cicero offic. l. 3.

Pindar apud Athan. Cl. Alexand. Strom. l. 5.

Prov. 16. 12.

Injustice destroyeth Kingdomes.

—Mensuraq; juris
Vis erat.—

Lucan. l. 1.

And the law was measured by *strength*, and he had the best right which was most powerfull: and to the ancient nation of the *Britons* came to utter ruine and destruction, *propter avaritiam principum, injustitiam judicum, negligentiam episcoporum, & luxuriam populi*, saith *Gildas*.

Ezechiel. 33. 11. and 18. 32.

And therefore God, that *desireth not the death of a sinner*, much lesse the ruine of any *nation*, would have us to seeke for justice, and so live uprightly one among another; but as the *sheepe* that are without a shepheard, *wander* where they list, so as you read *often* in the booke of Judges, when the people were without

without a *King*, there was no justice amongst them, but *every man did that which was right in his owne eyes*: therefore to prevent *oppressions* and wrongs, God out of his infinite *love* and favour unto mankind, from the beginning of the world, called and appointed Kings to be his vicegerents, to judge the earth, and to *see that the poore and the fatherlesse have right*; for besides many other places that might be alleadged, the Spirit of God saith directly, *ego dixi Diiestis, and by me Kings do reigne*, that is, by my *appointment*, by my *direction*, and by my *protection*, they doe, and shall rule and reigne over my people, as *Tertull, Optat. S Chrysost. S. Ambrose. S. Aug. S. Gregory*, and the rest of the most Orthodox fathers have ever taught and maintained; and therefore this is not *inventum humanum*, as the Puritanes have dreamed, and the Popes flatterers have maintained, but it is an *ordination* of God, that we have Kings given unto us, not to domineere and to satisfy their *untamed* wills, and sensuall appetites, but to administer justice and judgment unto their people, and so to guide them to live in all peace and tranquillity; for as *Ausen* saith,

Qui rectè facit, non qui dominatur erit rex.

And therefore *Plinius Secundus* in his panegyricks saith, *ut felicitatis est posse quantum velis, sic magnitudinis est velle quantum possis, & bonitatis facere quantum justum*: as it is a great felicity to be able to doe what we will, so it is a most heroicke resolution, to will no more but what we should, and to doe nothing but what is just; *Claudian* saith to *Honorius*.

Nec tibi quid liceat, sed quid fecisse decebit,
Occurrat, metuatq; domet respectus honesti.

and so *Homer* saith, that *Sarpedon* preserved *Licia*, ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ δίκαιον through justice and fortitude; whereupon the old Scholiast citeth the words of *Æschilus* ἐν χειμῶνι ἀνδρία that vertue and justice are ever coupled together; and *Dio: Chrysost.* saith ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνὴρ ἄριστος ἀνδρῶν, ἀνδρειότατος δὲ καὶ δικαιότατος he is the best of men, that is the most valiant and most just; *Orat.* 2. and *Herodian* saith of *Pertinax*, that he was both loved and feared of the *Barbarians*, as well for the remembrance of his vertues in former battels, as also ἐπιφανὴς ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ because

Judges. 17. 6.

Dan. 2. 21, 37
1. Chron. 2. 8.
1. Sam. 20. 1.
1 Reg. 19. 15.
Romans 13. 4.
Tertull. ad Scap. c. 2.
Optat. cont. Parmen. l. 3. p. 3.
Auson. in mosell.
Et id possumus quod iure possumus.
Chrysost. ad Pop. Antioch. hom. 2.
Ambros. apol. pro Davide, c. 4. & c. 10.
Aug. de civit. l. 4. c. 33.
Greg. epist. l. 2. ep. 110.
Autor libelli cui inscriptio, brevis narratio quomodo Hen. 4. &c.
Bellar. de laic. c. 5. Rhem. anno. 1. Pet. 2. 23.
De la Cerda in Virgil. l. 11. p. 360. &c. Herod. l. 2.
Plut. in vit.
Cicero. 2. orat. in Anton.
Ovid Met. 6.
Suet. in ob. c. 2.

because that wittingly or willingly he never did injustice to any man at any time. *Plutarch* ascribeth these vertues to *Lucullus*, and to *Paulus Æmilius*; *Cicero* saith the like of *Pompey*; *Ovid* of *Ericthens*; *Suetonius* of *Octavius Augustus* his father; *Virgil* of *Æneas*; *Krantius* of *Fronto* King of the Danes; and of our late King *James* of famous and ever blessed memory, we may truly say,—*Cui pudor & justitiæ soror*
Incorrupta fides, nudaq; veritas,
Quando ullum inveniet parem? Horat. l. 1, od. 26. Neither need I blush to apply the same to our present King.

So you see how *Justice exalteth a nation*, commends the doers of it, and crownes them with all honour, and as the Poet saith, Δίκαιος ἀνὴρ, σὺν μοίρᾳ κάλλιον ἔρδει. he that worketh justly shall have God himselfe for his *Coadjutor*.

But here you must observe that, which indeed is most true;

Οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον εἶναι, ὃς ὑπὲρ ἀδικῶν,
Ἀλλ' ὅστις δύναται δικαίως ἀδικεῖν, ὁ ἐθέλει μή.

He is not a *just* man that doth no hurt, but he that is *able* to do hurt, and *will not* doe it, that *can* be unjust and will not be: for it is no great matter to see a poore man that hath no *ability*, to doe no wrong; but it is *hard* to use power right, even in the *meanest* office; and therefore this is that, that is to be urged, to be then most just, when we have *most* power to offend, which most properly doth belong to all *Kings* and Princes, to put them in mind of their *duties*, to what end God hath made them Kings; for they are but base *flatterers, quibus omnia principum honesta atq; inhonesta laudare mos est*, that will commend all the doings of Princes, be they good or bad; and which say, πάντα καλὰ τὰ βασιλέως πρᾶγματα, all things are honest and just that Kings doe, as that flattering Sycophant said to *Antigonus*; or like those, *Chirodicæi*; οἱ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔχοντες τὸ βασιλικόν; who thinke justice lieth not in the Lawes, but in their hands; because as *Cæsar* saith, *in maxima fortuna minima licentia est*, the higher their places are, the more righteous they ought to be, and the *lesse* liberty of sinning is left unto them: and that in respect 1. of God. 2. of others. 3. of themselves. For

Who rightly termed just

Tacit. annal. l. 3.
Plut. in Apoth. Eustath. ad Iliad. β. Salust. in Orat. Cæs. cont. Catil.

1. Where

1. Where God hath conferred *much* honour, there he expecteth much *equity*, and the more *goodnesse*, where he bestowed the more grace: *idèo deteriores estis, quia meliores esse debetis?* and will men therefore be the more *sinfull*, because they ought to be the more *righteous?* — Kings ought to be more just, then all others in 3 respects. Luke 12. 48. *Salvian. de Prov. lib. 4.*

2. All *mens eyes* are upon the Prince; and as *Seneca* saith of the royall Pallace, *Perluces omne regia vitium domûs*; the houses of Kings are like *glasses*, and every man may looke through them: so their *actions* can no more be hid, then the *Citie* that is placed upon an hill; but their *least* and lightest acts are soone seene.

3. Their places are as *slippery* as they are lofty, when (as one saith) height it selfe maketh mens braines to swimme; *& nunquam solidè steterit superba felicitas*, and proud *insolency* never stood sure for any certaine space; for, as God hath made them *gods*, so he can *unmake* them at his pleasure; and as S. *Augustine* saith, *Quod contulit immerentibus, potest male meritis, & quod ille donante sit nostrum, nobis superbientibus fit alienum*; what God hath *freely* bestowed upon you *without* desert, he may *justly* take away from you for your *evill* deserts; and what is ours through Gods *gift*, may be made another mans through our owne *pride*; and not onely so, but as he hath *heaped* honours upon their heads, that they might *honour* him; so, if they *neglect* him, he can powre *contempt* upon Princes, and cast *dirt* in their faces, and make them a very *scorne* to those that *formerly* they thought unworthy *to have sate with the dogs of their flocke*; and then, *Quanto gradu altior, tanto casus gravior*, the *higher* they were exalted, the more will be their *griefe* when they are dejected; as it was with those Kings, that being wont to be carried in their royall Chariots, were forced like horses to draw *Sesostris* Coach; *Quia majorum est iniqua felicitas*; because it is a most *wretched* thing to *Subjects* to be happy, and not to be; or as the Poet saith,

Ovidius Trist. l. 3. Eleg. 4.

Qui sedit in plumis, quos horret adire tyrannus,
Dic, sedile an vacuum sarcinaque esse putet?
Sæpe miser servus, ne dominus pereat, orat:
Discat ut à servis, quam sit amanda, rogat.

And

And therefore all Kings should be ever mindfull of the words
2. Sam. 23. 3. of King *David*, *He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the feare of God*; and all these things that I have set downe should move all Kings and Princes to set their mindes upon
Psal. 58. 1. *righteousnesse, to judge the thing that is right*, and to live, to
What should move all Kings to rule justly according to Lawes. raigne and rule according to the *straight* rule of the Law; that so carrying them *justly* and worthily in their places, the *poore* people may *truly* say of them, *Certè Deus est in illis*, they may well be *called* Gods, because God is in them: and if these things *will* not, nor *cannot* move them to be as mindfull of their *duty*, as well as they are mindfull of their *excellency*, then
Psal. 149. 8. let them remember what the *Psalmist* saith, *He will bind Kings with fetters, and their Nobles with linkes of iron*; and let them meditate upon the words of King *Solomon*, where he saith unto them all, *Heare O ye Kings, and understand, learne ye that be Judges of the ends of the earth; give eare, you that rule the people, and glory in the multitude of Nations; for power is given you of the Lord, and soveraignty from the Highest, who shall trie your workes, and search out your counsels; because, being Ministers of his Kingdomes, you have not judged aright, nor kept the Law, nor walked after the counsell of God; horribly and speedily shall he come upon you; for a sharpe judgement shall be to them that are in high places; for mercy will soone pardon the meanest,*
Sap. 6. usque ad vers. 9. *but mighty men shall be mightily tormented; for he that is Lord over all shall feare no mans person, neither shall he stand in awe of any mans greatnesse; for he hath made the small and the great, and careth for all alike; but a sore tryall shall come upon the migh-*
Heb. 10. 31. *ty.* And the Apostle saith, *It is a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the living God*; which things should make their eares to tingle, and their hearts to tremble, whensoever they step aside out of Gods Commandements. And thus we set downe the charge of Kings, and the strict account that they must render unto God, how they have discharged the same; whereby you see we flatter them not in their greatnesse, but tell them as well what they should be, as what they are; and presse not onely obedience unto the people, but also equity and justice unto the Prince; that both doing their duty, both may be happy.

CHAP. XV.

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Sheweth the honour due to the King. 1. *Feare.* 2. *An high esteem of our King; how highly the Heathens esteemed of their Kings; the Marriage of obedience and authority; the Rebellion of the Nobility how haynous.* 3. *Obedience, foure fold; diverse kinds of Monarchs; and how an absolute Monarch may limit himselfe.*

2 I Have shewed you the *person* that we are commanded to honour, the *King*; I am now to shew you the *honour* that is due unto him, not only by the *customes* of all Nations, but also by the Commandement of God himselfe. Where first of all you must observe, that the Apostle useth the *same* word here to expresse our *duty* to our *King*, as the holy *Ghost* doth to expresse our duty to our *father* and *mother*; for there it is said, τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα; and here S. *Peter* saith τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε: to shew *indeed* that the King --- *urbi pater est urbiq; maritus*; is the *common* Father of us all, and therefore is to have the *same* honour that is due to our *father* and mother; and I have *fully* shewed the *particulars* of that honour upon that fift commandement. I will insist upon some *few* poynts in this place, and as the ascent to *Solomons* throne was, *per sex gradus*, by sixe speciall steps, so I will set you down six main *branches* of this honour, that are typified in the six *ensignes* or emblems of Royall Majesty; for

2 The honour that is due to the King.

The same that is due to our Father and Mother.

Six speciall branches of the honour due to the King.

1 The *Sword* exacteth *feare*, and the word τιμᾶτε signifieth as much.
2 The *Crowne* importeth *honour*, because it is of pure *gold*.
3 The *Sceptre* requireth *obedience*, because that *ruleth* us.
4 The *Throne* deserves *Tribute*, that his *Royalty* may be *maintained*.
5 His *Person* meriteth *defence*, because he is the *Defender* of us all.

6 His *charge* calleth for our *Prayers* that he may be *inabled* to discharge it.

1. Feare,

1. Kings are called *Gods*, and all the Royall *Ensignes* and Acts of Kings are ascribed to God, as their *Crown* is of God, whereupon they are called θεοστεφεῖς, crowned of God; their *sword* is of God, whereupon the Psalmist saith, *thou hast girded me with strength unto the battle*; their *Scepter* is the Scepter of God, for so *Moses* rod, which signifieth a *Scepter* as well as a rod, is called the *rod of God*; their *throne* is the throne of God, and their *judgement* is the judgement of God; and you know how often we are commanded in the Scripture *to feare God*; & the Poet saith, *primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*; & where there is no *feare* of God, there is no *beliefe*, that there is a God; for *feare is the betraying of the succors which reason offereth*; and when we have no *reason* to expect succour, our reason tells us, that we should *feare*, that is, the *punishment* which we deserved for those *evills*, which deprived us of our succours; and therefore this *feare* of the punishment, doth often times keep us from those evills; even as the Scripture saith, *timor Domini expellit peccatum*; and the *want* of this *feare* is the cause of all mischiefe, as the Prophet *David* sheweth, when after he enumerated, the most *horrible* sins of the wicked, that *their throat was an open sepulcher*: *the poyson of aspes under their lips*, *their mouth full of cursing and bitternesse*, *and their feet swift to shed blood*, he addeth this as the *cause* of all, that *there was no feare of God before their eyes*: And truly this is the *cause* of all our calamities, that we *feare* not our King; for if we *feared* him, we durst not *Rebell* and revile him as we doe.

Psal. 21. 3.
Psal. 18. 39.
Iudg. 7 17.
Exod. 4. 20. 17. 9.
1. Chron. 19 21.
2. Chron. 19. 6.
Sap. 17. 12.
The want of feare the cause of all mischiefe.
Rom. 3. 13.
P. 14.
V. 7.

Why men doe so little feare God & the King, Eccles. 5 6.

But what is the *reason* that we doe so *little* feare either God or the King? the sonne of *Syrach* sheweth, it is their great *mercy* and clemency; this, which worketh *love* in all *good* natures, produceth *boldnesse*, impudency, and Rebellion in all *froward* dispositions, who therefore *sinne* because God is *mercifull*, and will *Rebell* against their *King*, because they know he is *pitifull* and milde, and will grant them pardon, as they believe, if they cannot prevaile; which is nothing else, but like spiders, to suck *poyson* out of those sweet flowers, from whence

whence the bees doe gather *hony*, but let them not deceive themselves; for *debet amor lasus irasci*, love *too* much provoked will wax *most* angry, *& patientia lasa fit furor*; and therefore the sonne of Syrach saith, *concerning propitiation be not without feare, and say not his mercy is great, for mercy and wrath come from him, and his indignation resteth upon sinners*: so though our King be as the Kings of *Israel*, a mercifull minded man, most mild and clement; yet now when he seeth how these Rebells have *abused* his goodnesse and his patience, to the *great* sufferance of his *best* Subjects, he can draw his *sword*, and make it drunk in the blood of the ungodly, that have so transcendently abused both the *mercies* of God, & the *goodnesse* of the King. Eccles. 5. 5,6.

When diverse people had Rebelled against *Tarquin*, and his sonne had surprised many of their *chiefe* leaders, he sent unto his *father* to know what he should doe with them, the King being in his field, pausèd a while, and then *summa Papavera carpsit*, with his staffe *chopt* off the heads of diverse weeds and thistles, and gave the messenger none other answer, but goe, and *tell my sonne what I am doing*; and his Sonne, understanding his meaning, did with them, as *Tarquin* did with the Poppies; so *many* Kings would have done with *those* Rebells, not out of any love to shed *blood*, but out of a desire to preserve *Peace*, not for any naturall *inclination* to diminish their Nobility by their decollation, but from an earnest *endeavour* to suppresse the community from unnaturall Rebellion, *ut pœna in pancos, metus ad omnes*, that the *punishment* of some might have bred *feare* in the rest: and that *feare* of the King in them might keep his *good* Subjects from *feare* of being undone by them. What *Tarquin* did to Rebells.

But all the World seeth our King is more *mercifull*, and hath sought all this while to draw them *with the cords of love*, which hath bred more *troubles* to himselfe, more *afflictions* to us, and made them the more *cruell*, and by their *Oathes* and Protestations, Leagues and Covenants, to doe their best to bring the *King* and all his *loyall* Subjects into *feare*, if they may not have their own desires. But we are not afraid of these *Bug-bearers*; because we know this hath been the *practise* of all Rebells to linke themselves together with *Leagues* and Covenants, as in the conju- What effects the Kings clemency wrought.

conjuration of *Cateline*; and the *Holy league* in *France*, and the like; and *many* such *Covenants* and Leagues have been made with Hell, to the utter *destruction* of the makers; as when more then forty men vowed very *solemnly* (and they intended to doe it very *cunningly*) that they would *neither eat nor drinke untill they had killed Paul*; for so they might be without meat till the day of *judgement*, if they would keep their Oath: and so these *Covenanteers* may undoe themselves by such *hardening* their faces in their wickednesse; because this sheweth they are grown *desperate*, and are come to that passe, that they have *little* hope to preserve their *lives*, but by the hazarding of their *soules*; as if they thought the Divell, for the good *service* they desire to do Him, to overthrow the *Church*, to destroy *thousand* soules, may perchance doe them this favour, to preserve their *lives* for a time, to bring to passe so great a worke; whereas we know, the *Church* is built upon a *Rocke*, and God hath promised to defend his *annoynted*, so that all the *power* of hell shall never prevaile against any of these.

Act. 23. 12.

The Rebells Covenants shew they are grown desperate.

Wherefore to conclude *this* point, seeing God hath put a *sword* into the hand of the King, & *the King bears not the sword in vaine*, but though it be *long* in the sheath, he can *draw* it out when He will, and recompence the *abuse* of His lenity, with the *sharpnesse* of severity, let us *feare*; or if you would not feare, *doe well*, saith the Apostle, returne from your *Rebellion*, and from all your *wicked* wayes, and you may yet find *grace*; because you have both a mercifull *God*, and a gratious *King*.

Rom. 13. 4.

V. 3.

2. To have an high and good esteeme of our King, and to make others to have the like.

2. As we are to *feare*, so we are to *reverence* our King, that is, to have an high *esteeme* of His Majesty, and to manifest the same in our *termes*, speeches and communications accordingly, to gaine the *love* of the rest of His Subjects towards Him; and not as *Absolon* did, by cunning and *sinister* expressions, *to steale away the hearts and affections of His People*; for to make *mention* of him either in our *prayers* or Sermons, or in any other *familiar* talke, so, as if he were a friend to *Popery*, an Enemy to the *Gospell*, and careless of *Justice*, and the like, (as too many of our Sectaries most *falsely* & most *malitiously* have done) is rather to *vilifie* and disgrace him, to worke an *odium* against him, and a

2. Sam. 15. 6.

tediousnesse

rediousnesse of him, then to procure an *honourable* esteeme and reverence of him; *Cassiodorus* saith, *stipendium tyranno pendi-tur, praedicatio non nisi bono Principi*; Tribute is due to *Tyrants*, and ought to be paid unto them; but *honour* and reverence much more to a good Prince; & the spirit of God bids us, *blesse them that persecute us*, and our Saviour saith, *blesse them that curse you*, that is, speake *well* of Tyrants that oppresse us, and speak not ill of them that speak ill of you; especially if they be your *Magistrates* or your King, whom σὺν ἀξιοχρεῖ you are commanded to *honour*, even with the *same* word τιμᾶτε (therefore no doubt, but with the *same* honour) as we are commanded to honour our *Father*, and our *Mother*; because the King is our *Politicall* Father; and is therefore commanded to be *reverenced* by this precept, which (as the Divines observe) is of *greater* moment and more *obliging*, then any of the rest of the Commandements of the second Table, not only because it keepeth the *first* place of all these precepts, but is also the first Commandement with *promise*, as the Apostle observeth.

Rom. 12, 14. Matth. 5, 44.

The fifth Commandement is the most obliging of all the Commandements of the second Table. Ephes. 6, 2.

And not only the *Scriptures* command us thus to *honour* and to reverence our King, but the very *Heathens* also did so reverence them, that they did *adore* the Statues and Images of their Kings and *Caesars*, as *Tacitus* reporteth; and it was *Treason* for any man to *pull* away, or violate them, that fled unto them for sanctuary; yea, it was *capitall* for a man, that had the *Image* of his Prince stamped in silver, or ingraven in a Ring, to goe to any *uncleane* or unseemly place; and therefore *Seneca* saith, that under the Empire of *Tiberius*, a certain *Noble* man was accused of *Treason*, for moving his hand, that had on his finger a Ring, whereon was ingraven the *portraiture* of the Prince, unto his privie parts when he did Vrine; and the *reason* of this great reverence, which they bare unto their Princes was, that they beleeved there was in Kings θεῖόν τι, some divine thing, which above the *reach* of man, was ingrafted in them, and could not be *derived* from them; for so *Raderus* tells us, that this *divine* Majesty, or celestiall sparke, was so eminent in the countenance of *Alexander*, that it did not only *terrifie* his enemies, but also *moved* his best Commanders and greatest Peeres to

How the heathens honoured their Kings. C. Tacitus. lib. 14.

Seneca de benefic. l. 30.

The reason of their reverence,

Raderus Comment. in Quint. curt.

obey his commands: and the like is reported of *Scipio Africanus*: and I find the *Macedonians* had a law, that (beſides the Traitors) condemned to death five of their *next* Kinſfolkes, that were convicted of conſpiracy againſt their King; and a Gentleman of *Normandy*, confeſſing to his Frier, how ſuch a *thought* came once in his mind, to have *killed* King *Francis* the firſt, but repenting of his intention, he reſolved never to doe it; the Frier *abſolved* him of his ſinne, but *told* the King thereof, and he ſent him to his Parliament, who *condemned* and *executed* him for his thought. *Philip* the firſt of *Spaine*, ſeeing a *Falcon* killing an *Eagle*, commanded his head to be wrung of; ſaying, *let none preſume above their Soveraigne*; and in the raigne of *Henry* fourth of *England*, one was *hanged*, drawne, and quartered, in Cheapſide *London*, for *jeſting* with his ſonne, that if he did learne *well* he would make him heire of the *Crowne*, meaning his *owne* houſe, that had the *Signe* of the Crowne, to prove the Proverbe true, *non eſt bonum ludere cum ſanctis*, it is not ſafe *jeſting* with Kings and Crowns, and it is leſſe ſafe to *reſiſt* them if you will beleeve wiſe *Solomon*. And I have read of another King, that paſſing over a river, his *Crowne* fell into the water, one of his water-men lept in, and dived to the bottome, and taking up the *Crowne* put it upon his *head*, that it might not hinder his ſwimming, and ſo brought it to the King againe, who *rewarded* him well for his paines, but cauſed his head to be *chopt* of for *preſuming* to weare his Crowne. And all this is but an *inanſwerable* argument to condemne our *Rebells*, that neither reverence the *Majeſty* of their King, nor reſpect the *commandement* of their God.

A Macedonian law.

A gentleman hanged for his thought.

3. Obedience.

3. *Obedience* is another principall *part* of that honour which we owe unto the King; and this *obedience* of the inferiours joyned with the *direction* of the ſuperiors, doe make any ſtate moſt *ſucceſſefull*; but when theſe are divorced, then *nothing* goeth right in that Common-wealth; for ſo the Sages of *Greece* expreſt it by the marriage that *Iupiter* made between μοιρίδια and πειθαρχία, whoſe child, brought forth betwixt them, was εὐνομία; to ſhew unto us, that when *authority* is married to *obedience*, and obedience proves a *dutifull* and good wife to authority,

The marriage of obedience and authority and the iſſue.

Æſchylus.

All muſt be obedient.

authority, the *fruit* of that match will be *happinesse* to the whole Kingdome.

And therefore if we would be *happy*, we must be *obedient*, and our obedience must be *universall*, in all things in the Lord.

Iussa sequi tam velle mihi quàm posse necesse est. Lucan. l. 1.

So the people say unto *Ioshua*, *all that thou commandest us, we will doe*: and *all* must doe it, the *greater* aswell as the *lesser*, the *noble* man as well as the *meane* man, yea *rather* then the meane man; for though *rebellion* in *any* one, is as the sinne of *witchcraft*, yet in a vulgar man it may admit of vulgar apologies; but in a man of *quality*, in *noble* men in *Courtiers*, bred in the *Kings house*, in the Kings *service*, and raised by the Kings *favour*, it is *Morbus complicatus*, a decompound sinne, a transcendent ingratitude, and unexpressable iniquity, the *example* more spreading, and the *infection* more contagious, because more conspicuous; and the *giddy* attempts of an unguided multitude, are but, as Cardinall *Farnesius* saith, like the *Beech* tree without his *top*, soon *withered* and vanishing into nothing without leaders, when they become a *burthen* unto themselves, and a *prey* unto others; therefore the contradiction of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, that were so *eminent* in the congregation, was a sinne so *odious* unto God, that he would have destroyed *all Israell* for their sake, as now he punisheth *all England* for the sinnes of those *noble* men, that have rebelled against their King, and were alwayes like *Sejanus* as wayward pleased as opposed. And therefore S^t *Paul* saith, that πᾶσα ψυχὴ, *every soule must be subject to the higher power*, and he saith, ἀνάγκῃ ὑποτάσσεσθε, you must *needs* be subject, or be obedient, and he presseth this *obedience* with many arguments, as Ioshu. 1.16. Noble mens Rebellion more abominable to God & man, then any other. Rom. 13.1. Rom. 13.5.

Obedience pressed by a three fold argument.

1. From *Gods ordinance*, because God hath set them over us, and commanded us to be *obedient* unto them, and therefore *whosoever resisteth them*, warreth against God.

2. From *mans Conscience*, which telleth us, that he is the *minister of God*, εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν, for good, & therefore *virtutis amore*, if we have any *love* to goodnesse, we ought to *obey our King*. Rom. 13.4.

3. For *feare of vengeance*, because he beareth not the sword in vaine, but is, θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι, a revenger v. 4.

How we ought to behave our selves towards wicked Kings.

ger to execute wrath *upon him that doth evill*; therefore this obedience to our King, is not ἀδιάφορον, a thing of *indifference* but of neeessity; for be our King, for his religion, *impious*, for his government, *unjust*, and for life, *licentious*, as cruell as *Nero*, as prophane as *Julian*, and as wicked as *Heliogabalus*; yet the Subjects must *obey* him. the Bishops must *admonish* him, the counsell must *advise* him, and all must *pray* for him; but no *mortall* man, that is his Subject, hath either leave to resist him, or licence to reject him: unlesse they reject the ordinance of God, and so fight against God; and you know, Ἀγχαλεπὸν πρὸς θεὸν ἀνδρὶ θνητῷ ἀεὶ δαμῆναι, *it is hard to vanquish God.*

Ardua res homini est mortali vincere numen.

Why God sendeth evill Kings.

It is truly said by a learned Bishop, *si bonus est Princeps, nutritor est tuus*, if thy King be *good* he is thy *nursing* Father, and it is a great happinesse to his Subjects, *sin malus est tentator est tuus*, but if he be *evill*, he is either for the *punishment* of thy sinnes, or for the *triall* of thy faith; and therefore receive thy punishment with *patience*, or thy triall without *resistance*; and *Aquin.* saith, *tollenda est culpa & cessabit tyrannorum plaga*, doe thou take away thy *sinnes*, and God will soon take away thy *punishment*; otherwise, as for our *sinnes*, we doe often suffer *droughts*, floods, unseasonable weather, sicknesses, plagues, and many other evills of nature, *ita luxum & avaritiam dominantium tolerare debemus*; so when God setteth up *hypocrites* or *tyrants* to reigne over us, to be the *scourges* of his wrath, and the *rods* of his fury, we must not *struggle* against God, but rest contented to indure the *vices* of our rulers, as a *just* punishment of our wickednesse, saith *Cornelius Tacitus* *

* *Et Michael Palatinus Hungariæ dicebat, rege coronato, etiamsi bos esset, nobis obtemperandum est. Bonfin. dec. 4. lib. 3.*

But here you must observe, that there are diverse kinds of obedience; especially,

1. *Coacta.* 3. *Simulata.*	1. *Forced.* 3. *Faigned.*
2. *Casta.* 4. *Ordinata.*	2. *Foolish.* 4. *Well ordered.*

Foure kinds of obedience.

1. Forced obedience, Rom. 13. 1. 1. Sam. 15. 22.

1. The first is a *forced* and compelled obedience, meerly *for feare* of wrath, as Children *learne*, or Slaves doe their *duty* for feare of the *rod*; and this is better then *resistance*, though nothing like to that *obedience*, which S. *Paul* calleth τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν; because this *voluntary*, and not extorted obedience, is that, which is better then *sacrifice*.

2. The

2. The second is a blind obedience, such as the young youths, that being commanded by their *Abbat*, to carry a basket of figgs, and other Incates unto a solitary *Monks* or Hermite that lived in his cave, and loosing their way in that *unfrequented* wilderneſſe, choſe rather to *dye* in the deſert then eat of thoſe acates that they had in their Basket; and *ſuch* obedience is moſt frequent in the proſelites of *Rome*, who will doe *whatſoever* they are commanded by their *ſuperiors*, though both *they and their ſuperiors* do thereby commit never ſo *great* a wickednesse: Where notwithſtanding I muſt confeſſe, that this blind obedience is *farre* better, both for Church and State, then a *proud* reſiſtance, when as the *one* produceth nothing but ſome *particular* inconveniences, and the *other* proceedeth to an *univerſall* deſtruction. 2. Blind obedience.

3. The third is an *hypocriticall* and diſſembled obedience, that is, an obedience for a *time*, till they ſee their time to doe *miſchiefe*, which is the *worſt* of all obedience, and therefore moſt *hatefull* both to God and Man; becauſe it is but, *eatenus, uſq; dum vires ſuppetunt*, untill they have the *opportunity*, and have gotten ſufficient ſtrength, to ſhake off their *ſubjection*, and to maintaine their *Rebellion*; and this was the *obedience* of all our *Rebells*, our Sectaries and Puritans here in *England*, who would alſo face us down, but moſt *falſely*, that it was the obedience of the *Primitive* Chriſtians; for ſo the grand impoſtor *Io. Goodwin*, in his *Anticavalieriſme*, ſaith, they were only *obedient* to thoſe perſecuting Tyrants, becauſe as yet they wanted *ſtrength*, and were not able to reſiſt them; but O thou enemy of all *goodneſſe*, that ſo hateſt to become a *Martyr* for thy God, that was martyred for thee, is it not *enough* for thee to play the *diſſembling* hypocrite thy ſelfe, but thou muſt taxe thoſe *holy* Martyrs, thoſe true Saints, that raigne with Chriſt in Heaven, of *hypocriſy* and diſobedience in their hearts, to the *Ordinance* of God? I could *willingly* beare with any aſperſion thou ſhouldeſt caſt in my face, but I am out of *patience*, though *ſory* that I am ſo tranſported, to ſee ſuch *falſe* and ſcandalous imputations, ſo *unjuſtly* layd upon ſuch *holy* Saints; yet this you muſt do to *countenance* your Rebellion, to get the *Rhetorick* of the Di- 3 Hypocriticall obedience.

The obedience of our Rebells.

The Author more out of patience for the wrong offered to the Martyrs then for his own abuſe.

well to bely Heaven it selfe; and therefore what *wonder* is it, that you should bely your *King* on earth, when you dare thus bely the *martyrs* that are in Heaven.

4. The obedience of the Saints two fold.

4. The fourth is a *voluntary*, hearty and well ordered *obedience*, which is, the obedience of the *Saints*, and is also

Two fold { 1. *Active*, 2. *Passive*, } for

1. Active obedience.

1. The Saints knowing the *will* of God, that they should obey their King, and those that are sent of him, they doe *willingly* yeeld obedience to their superiors; and no marvell; because there cannot be a *surer* argument of an *evill* man, then in a Church *reformed*, and a Kingdome *lawfully* governed, to *resist* authority, and to *disobey* them that should rule over us, especially him, whom God immediatly hath appoynted to be his *vicegerent*, his substitute, and the supreme Monarch of his Dominions here on earth; for all *other* things, both in heaven and earth, doe observe that *Law*, which their maker hath appoynted for them, when, as the Psalmist saith, *he hath given them a Law which shall not be broken*; therefore this must needs be a great *reproofe*, and a mighty *shame* to those men, that being *Subjects* unto their King, and to be *ruled* by his Lawes, will notwithstanding disobey the King, and transgresse those Lawes, that are made for their safety, and resist that authority, which they are bound to obey; only because their *weake* heads, or *false* hearts, doe account the commandement of the King to be against right, and what themselves doe to be most holy and just.

Ob. Diverse kinds of Monarchies.

But our City Prophets will say, that although the King be the supream Monarch, whom we are commanded to obey; yet there are diverse *kinds* of Monarchies or Regall governments; as *usurped*, *lawfull*, by *conquest*, by *inheritance*, by *election*, and these are either *absolute*, as were the *Easterne* Kings, and the *Roman* Emperours, or *limited* and mixed; which they terme a *Politicall* Monarchie, where the King or *Monarch* can do nothing alone, but with the *assistance* & direction of his *Nobility* & Parliament; or if he doth attempt to bring any *exorbitancies* to the Common-wealth, or deny those things that are *necessary* for the preservation thereof, they may lawfully *resist* him in the

one, and *compell* him to the other; to which I answer.

Sol. Absolute Monarchs may limit themselves.

1. As God himselfe, which is most *absolute*, & *liberrimus agens*, may notwithstanding *limit* himselfe and his own power, as he doth, when he promiseth and *sweareth* that *he will not fail David*, and that the *unrepentant* Rebells should *never enter into his rest*; so the Monarch may *limit* himselfe in *some* points of his administration; and yet this *limitation* neither transferreth any *power* of soveraignty unto the Parliament, nor denieth the Monarch to be *absolute*, not admitteth of any *resistance* against him; for

I cannot devise words to expresse this new devised government.

1. This is a meer *gull*, to seduce the *people*, that cannot distinguish the poynt of a needle; just like the *Papist*, that saith he is a *Roman* Catholike; that is, a *particular* universall, a black white, a polumonarcha, a many one governour, when we say he is a *Monarch*, joyned in his government with the *Parliament*; for he can be no *Monarch* or supream King & Soveraign, that hath any *sharers* with him or above him in the governmet.

2. There is no *Monarch* that can be said to be *simply* absolute, but only God; yet where there is no *superior*, but the *soveraignty* residing in the King, he may be said to be an *absolute* Monarch κατα τι, 1. because there is *none* on earth that can *controule* him, 2 Because he is *free* & absolute in all such things, wherein he is not *expresly* limited: and therefore

No Monarch so Absolute but some way limited.

3. Seeing no Monarch or Soveraigne is so absolute, but that he is some way *limited*, either by the *Law* of God, or the *rules* of nature, or of his own *concessions* and grants unto his people, or else by the *compact* that he maketh with them, if he be an elective King, and so admitted unto his Kingdome: there is no reason they should *resist* their King, for transgressing the limitations of *one* kinde more then the *other*: or if any, no doubt but he that transcendeth the limits of *Gods* Law, or goeth against the common rules of *nature*, ought *rather* to be resisted, then he that observeth not his own *voluntary* concessions: but themselves, perceiving how *peremptorily* the Apostle speaketh against *resistance* of the Heathen Emperours that then ruled, doe confesse that *absolute* Monarchs ought not to be resisted; (wherein also they are mistaken, because the histories tell us, those

those Emperours were not so *absolute* as our Kings, till the time of *Vespasian*, when the *lex Regia* transferred all the power of the People upon the Emperour, *Ulpian de constit. Principis*: therefore indeed, no *Monarch* ought to be *resisted*, whatsoever limitations he hath granted unto his Subjects.

No Monarch ought to be resisted.

And the resisters of authority might understand, if their more malitious then blind leaders would give them leave, that this virtue of *obedience* to the supream power maketh *good* things unlawfull, when we are *forbidden* to doe them, as the eating of the *forbidden* tree was to *Adam*, and the holding up of the *Arke* was to *Uzza*: and it maketh *evill* things to be good and lawfull, when they are *commanded* to be done, as the killing of *Isaack* (if he had done it) had been *commendable* in *Abraham*, and the smiting of the Prophet was very *laudable* in him that smote him, when the Prophet *commanded* him to doe it: and therefore *Adam* and *Uzza* were punished with death, because they did those *lawfull* good things, which they were *forbidden* to doe; and the others were recompenced with *blessings*, because they did and were ready to doe those *evill* things, that they were *commanded* to doe; when as he that *refused* to smite the Prophet, being *commanded* to doe it, was destroyed by a Lion, because he did it not; whereby you see, that things *forbidden*, when they are *commanded*, & *è contra*, cannot be omitted without sinne.

Rebels should well consider these things.

1. Reg. 20. 38.

Ob. *Mandatum imperantis tollit peccatum obedientis.* Aug. Sol.

You will say it is true, when it is done by God, whose *injunction* or prohibition, his *precept* or his forbidding to doe it, or not to doe it, maketh all things *lawfull* or *unlawfull*.

I answer, that we cannot think our selves *obedient* to God, whilest we are *disobedient* to him, whom God hath commanded us to obey; and therefore, if we will *obey* God, we must obey the King; because God hath commanded us to obey him; and being to obey him, *non attendit verus obediens quale sit quod præcipitur, sed hoc solo contentus quia præcipitur*, he that is *truly* obedient to him, whom God *commanded* us to obey, never regardeth, *what* it is that is commanded, (so it be not *simply* evill, for then as the Apostle saith, it is better to obey God then man, were he the greatest Monarch in the World,) but he *considereth*,

considereth, and is therewith satisfied, that it is *commanded*, and therefore doth it, saith S^t *Bernard*, *in l. de precept. & dispensat.* — *Bernard in l. de precept. & dispensat.*

CHAP. XVI.

Sheweth the answer to some objections against the obeying of our Soveraigne Magistrate; all actions of three kinds; how our Consciences may be reformed; of our passive obedience to the Magistrates; and of the Kings concessions, how to be taken.

BVt against this our *sectaries* and Rebells will object, that their *conscience*, which is *vinculum*, *accusator*, *testis* & *judex*, their bond, their accuser, their witnesse and their judge, against *whom* they can say nothing, and from *whom* they cannot appeale, unlesse it be to a *severer* Iudge, will not give them leave to obey, to doe *many* things, that the King requireth to be done; and who can *blame* them for obeying their *conscience* rather then any King? — Ob.

I confesse that it is *naturally* ingraffed in the hearts of all men, that no *evill* is to be done, and *reason*, according to that measure of *knowledge*, which every man hath, tells us, what is *good*, and what is *evill*; then *conscience* concludeth what is to be done, and what not to be done. *quia conscientia est applicatio notitiæ nostræ ad actum particularem*, because our conscience is the application of our knowledge to some particular act, saith *Aquinas*. And this *application* of our knowledge to that act considereth, — Sol. — *Thom. 2. Sent. dist. 14. art. 4.*

1. *De præteritis*, of things past, whether such a thing be done or not done, and so our conscience is a *witnesse* that cannot erre. — Conscience a witnesse,

2. *De præsentibus factis*, of our present actions, whether the fact done be *good* or *evill*, just or unjust, so our conscience is a *judge* according to the measure of our knowledge. — Conscience a Iudge,

3. *De futuris faciendis*, of future acts that are to be done, whether they ought to be done, or left undone. — Conscience a follower of reason.

But because our *conscience* springeth from our *reason*, and our *reason* may be *clouded* and obscured by a *double* error.

Reason obscured two wayes.

1. A false *assumption*, when we take those things to be *good* or true, which are indeed *evill* or false, as they that think they doe God *good service*, when they kill his *servants*, even as the *Rebells* doe at this very day, and that they *please* God when they disobey their King.

1. way. Iohn. 16.2.

2. A false *application*, or a false conclusion from a true assumption; as, because I am commanded, *to love God above all things*, therefore I am to *hate* all things but God; or because, *it is better to obey God then man*; therefore I must not obey the commands of any man.

2. waye. The Rebells offend both wayes.

So our *conscience* may be poysoned in like manner with the same errors; and being so misguided, they ought not to *bind* us, but we ought rather to *reforme* them; for that, which truly should bind the *conscience*, is not our *judgement*, but Gods *precept*, that either *commandeth* or *forbiddeth* such and such actions to be done, or not done.

What should bind our conscience.

And you know, that *all* actions are either, { 1. *good*. 2. *evill*. 3. *indifferent*. }

1. The *good*, God commandeth us to doe them.
2. The *evill* he flatly *forbiddeth* them to be done: and
3. The *indifferent* he wholy leaveth to the power of the *Magistrate*, to make them either *lawfull* or *unlawfull*, good or bad, as he pleaseth.

All actions of three sorts.

And therefore, for the first two sorts of actions, because thy *conscience* hath Gods *precept* to direct thee, if thy *reason*, either through *ignorance*, or the strength of thine owne *fancy*, (which often happeneth to *proud* Spirits) doth not mislead thee, to call good evill, and evill good, it is safer for thee to follow the *dictamen* of thine owne *conscience*, then the *command* of the greatest potentate; for in all such cases, *it is better to obey God then man*.

Pride blindeth many men.

Act. 5.29.

But in all the *other* things, that are *indifferent* of themselves, the *precept* of the King, or any other our *lawfull* superiour, maketh them to become *necessary* unto the Subject; because the

We are too inquisitive of many things.

command

command of the superiour Magistrate doth bind more then the *conscience* of the inferiour Subject can doe; for though the *conscience*, *rightly* guided by reason, is the *Iudge* of those things, which are either *directly* forbidden or commanded; yet in the *other* things, that are indifferent, the *Magistrate* is the more *immediate* Iudge under God, which hath given him power, either to *command* them to be done, *or* to *forbid* them; and therefore the Subiect, having the *command* of his King, (whom God commandeth us to obey) for his *warrant* in things of this nature, either to *doe* such things, or to *leave* such things undone, his *duty* is not to examine the *reason* of the command, but to *performe* what he seeth commanded; for so S. *Augustine* saith, that although *Iulian* was an *Idolater*, an Apostata, an Infidell; yet, *milites fideles servierunt imperatori infideli*; but when it came to the cause of *Christ*, they acknowledged *none*, but him that was in Heaven; when he would have them to worship *Idolls*, they preferred God *before* him; when he said, lead forth your *Armies*, and go against such a *Nation*, they presently obeyed him; they distinguished betwixt their *eternall* and their *temporall* Lord, *& tamen subditi erant propter aternum etiam domino temporali* and they never examined the *Iustnes* of the warre; because in all such cases, *mandatum imperantis tollit culpam servientis*, the fault must only rest upon the *commander*.

The Magistrate the immediate judg of indifferent things.

August. in Psa. 124. C. imperator. 11. q. 1.

And therefore, as our *reason* and Iudgement may be blinded in all actions, either with *ignorance*, *negligence*, *pride*, *inordinate affection*, *faintnes*. *perplexity*, or *selfe love*, so may our *conscience* too, when it erroniously *concludeth* upon what our *reason* falsly *assumeth*; and then, as I said before, our *conscience* is rather to be *reformed* then obeyed; and if we be desirous, we may thus redresse it.

Our reason and judgement misguided seven wayes.

How our conscience may be reformed.

1. If it be of *ignorance*, let us say with *Iehoshaphat*, *we know not what to doe, but our eyes are towards thee*; and let us seek to them that can *informe* us, the *Orthodox* not the *Sectaries*, which will rather *corrupt* us then *direct* us.

1. From ignorance. 2. Chron. 20. 12.

2. If it be of *negligence*, let us come without *partiality* or preiudice (as *Nicodemus* did to Christ) to those that for *knowledge* are well able, and for *honesty* are most willing, to instruct us.

2. From negligence. John 3. 1.

3. If

3. From Pride.

3. If it be of *pride*, let us pray to God for *humility*, and submit our selves one to another, especially to them that have *more learning* then our selves, and have that charge over us; 2. Cor. 10. 18. *for he that praiseth himselfe is not allowed*, but he whom the Lord praiseth; and *singularity* hath been the *originall* of all heresies and not the *least* occasion of the *troubles* of these times, and the *rebellion* of our Sectaries.

4. From inordinate affection.

4. If it be from *inordinate* affection, *quum id sanctum quod volumus*, when every *one* makes what he loves to be *lawfull*, and his owne wayes to be *iust*, let us hearken to sound *reason* and preferre *truth* before our owne *affections*; or otherwise *Seneca.* *perit omne iudicium, cùm res transit in affectum*, there can be no true judgement of things, when we are transported with our partiall affections.

5. From faintnesse.

5. If it be from *faintnesse*, let us be scrupulous where we have *cause*, lest we should think it *lawfull* to swallow a *Camell*, because we are able to streane a *gnat*; and let us not be afraid, *where no feare is*, and think those things *sinfull* that are most *lawfull*; which is a *heavy* judgement of God upon the *wicked*, and hath now lighted very *sore* upon many of the Inhabitants of this land, who thinke it *Popery* to say, *God blesse you*, and judge it *idolatry* to see a *Crosse* in Cheap-side.

A heavy judgement upon this Nation by mistaking sinnes.

6. From perplexity.

6. If it be of *perplexity*, when a man is *close*, as he conceives, betwixt two sinnes, where he seeth himselfe *unable*, though never so *willing*, to avoyd *both*, let him *peccare in tutiorem partem*, which though it takes not *away* the sinne, yet it will make the fault to be the *lesse* sinne; as the casting *away* of the corne, which is the *gift* of God and the sustenance of mans life, is an Act. 27. 38. unthankfull *abuse* of Gods creature; yet as S. *Paul* caused the same to be *cast* into the Sea for the safeguard of their lives; so must we doe the like, when *occasion* makes it *necessary*; as now, rather to kill our *enemies* the Rebells, though we should think it to be ill, then suffer them to wrong our *King*, and to destroy both *Church* and Kingdome; because that of two things, which we conceive *evill*, and are not both *evitable*, the choice of the *lesser*, to avoyd the *greater*, is not evill; but they are then to be judged *inevitable*, when there is no apparent *ordinary* way to

When things are to be judged inevitable.

avoyd

avoid them, because that where *counsell* and advice doe beare rule, we may not presume of Gods *extraordinary* power, without extraordinary *warrant*, saith iudicious M^r *Hooker*. *Hooker Eccles. pol.* l 5. p. 15.

7. If it be of too much *humility*, which is an error of *lesse* danger, yet by no meanes to be *fostered*, lest by gathering *strength* it proves most pernitious, they should pray to God to preserve them from *too* much *feare*; for though (as S. *Gregory* saith) *bonarum mentium est, ibi culpas agnoscere, ubi culpa non est*, yet (as I said before) it is a *heavy* iudgement, and a want of Gods grace, *to be afraid where no feare is*, and it makes men to commit *many* sins many times for *feare* of sinne. 7. From too much humility. *Multos in summa pericula misit, venturi timor ipse mali. Lucan.* l 7.

And thus having *rectified* our conscience in the understanding of all these things, we are bound, by the *commandements* of God, to be obedient unto the *commands* of our King, for it is a *paradox* to say, *Christians are free from the Lawes of men*; because it was a *human* law, touching things *strangled* & blood: and the Apostles doe exact our obedience unto *humane* lawes, even the Lawes of *Heathen* and Idolatrous Emperours: and therefore, being bound *to obey them*, they cannot be freed in conscience, from the Religion of them: and so D^r *Whitaker* saith, that as the Lawes of God must be *simply* obeyed, without any difference of *time*, *place*, and *circumstance*; so must the Lawes of men be *obeyed*, as the *circumstances* doe require; for example, he that is a *Roman* and liveth at *Rome*, must obey the *Roman* Lawes; and he saith, that the *authority* of the Magistrate, which is *sacred* and holy, cannot with any *good* conscience be contemned; because it is the *commandements* of God, that we should *obey* them; and this (saith he) doth *binde* the conscience, when, (as the Apostle saith) *we are to be obeyed for conscience sake*. Act. 15. 20. Rom. 13. 1, 3. 1. Peter 2. 13. Whitaker contra Camp. p. 258. Ob.

But you will say, what if the King *forbids* me to doe what God commandeth, as the *high* Priest did to the Apostles, or *commandeth* me to doe what God forbiddeth, as *Julian* did unto the Christians, and *Nebuchadnezzar* to the three children? Sol.

We have *often* answered, that in *such* a case, *it is better to obey God then man*; for it is *sometimes* lawfull not to obey, but it is never lawfull to resist. Act. 5. 29.

Ob. What if he compells us by *force* and violence to doe what God *forbids* us to do, if he play's the *Tyrant*, violates our *Laws*, and corrupts the *true* Religion, with Idolatry and superstition? may we not then, as our forefathers *did* heretofore unto *Chilperick* King of France, & to *Richard* the second of this Kingdom, and *others*, bridle them and Depose them too, if they will not be *ruled* by their Great Councell, the *Parliament*?

Sol. I answer, first, *Non spectandum quid factum sit, sed quid fieri debuerit*, we are not so much to regard what hath been done, as what *ought* to have been done, as *Arnisæus* proveth at large, and sheweth most excellently, with a full answer to all the articles, that were alleadged against those Kings, how *unjustly* they were handled and deposed contrary to all right; and I wish that book were translated into English. 2. I say that when our *active* obedience cannot be yeelded, our *passive* obedience must be used; for were our *Kings* as Tyrannicall as *Nero*, as *Idolatrous* as *Manasses*, as wicked as *Achab*, and as Prophane as *Julian*; yet we may not *resist*, whē as *Arnisæus* proveth by many many examples, that the *Rebellion* of Subjects against their King doth overthrow the order of *nature*: and *Justinian* saith, *quis est tanta autoritatis, ut nolentem principem possit coarctare?* but in *such* a case, we must doe as all the Saints did before us: not as the *Heathens*, which thought them worthy of *divine* honour, which did kill a Tyrant, and said with *Seneca*,

Victima haud ulla amplior
Potest, magisq; opima mactari Jovi
Quàm Rex iniquus.----

But, as Christ himselfe suffered under *Pontius Pilate*, a most wicked Magistrate, and registred in the *breviary* of our Faith, that we might never forget our duty, rather to *suffer* then to *resist* the authority that is from Heaven; and as Saint *Ambrose* answered the Emperour, that would have his Church delivered to the *Arians*, I shall never be *willing* to leave it, *coactus repugnare non novi*, if I be compelled I have not learned to *resist*. I can grieve and weep and sigh, and against the Armes and *Gotish* Souldiers, my *teares* are my weapons, for those are the *Bulwerkes* of the Priest, who in any other manner neither *can*, neither

Heningus Arnisæus de author. princi. in Pop.

2. Of our passive obed.

Idem. cap. 3. p. 68.

Cicero pro Milone.

Seneca in Hercul. fur.

Christ and his Apostles suffered, but never resisted the lawfull Magistrate.

neither *ought* he to resist: so must all Christians rather by suffering *death*, then by resisting our King to enter into the Kingdome of Heaven.

But 'tis objected by our *Sectaries*, that His Majesty confesseth *there is a power Legally placed in the two houses, more then sufficient to prevent and restrain the power of Tyranny.* Ob.

I answer, *first*, when it pleased the King of His grace, to *restrain* His own power of making Laws, to the *consent* of Peeres & Commons, that by this *Regulating* of the same, it might be purged from all *destructive* exorbitances, the very *Law* it self, being tender of the *legitimate* rights of the King, and considering the *Person* of the Soveraign to be *single*, & his power counterpoysed by the opposite wisdom of the two Houses, allowed him to sweare unto himselfe a body of *Councell* of State, and Counsellors at *Law*, & the Iudges also to advise him & informe him so, that as he should not doe any wrong, by reason of the *restraining* Votes of the Houses, so he might not *receive* any wrong by the *incroachment* of the Parliament upon his right: and the King, being driven away from his *learned* Councell, and forced to make the *defence* of his rights by writing, it is no wonder, if his *concessions* and *Promises*, as well in *this* poynt, as in other things, especially in that, concerning the Act of excluding the Clergy, were more then was *due* to them, or then he *needed* to grant, or then he *ought* to observe, being to the dishonour of God, and the prejudice of his Church; when as nothing in Parliament, where the wrong may be perpetuall, should be extracted from him, but what he should well *consider* of with the advice of his *Counsell*, and what he should freely grant; and whatsoever is otherwise done, is ill done, to the great disadvantage of the King, and his Posterity, and the *unjust* inlarging of their power more then is due unto them; yet

The Author of the Treatise of Monarchy, p. 31. Sol. The Law provides that the King should not be circumvented and wronged.

The Kings concessions very large.

2. I say, if these words of His Majesties be rightly weighed, they give no colour of *resisting* Tyranny by any *forcible* armes; but as D. *Ferne* saith most *truly* of a *Legall*, *Morall*, and Parliamentary restraint; for the words are, *there is a power legally placed in the Houses*, that is, the *Law* hath placed a power in them; but you shall never find *any* Law, that any King hath

D. *Ferne* in his reply to several treat. p. 32

granted, whereby himselfe might be *resisted* and subdued by open *force* and violence: for as *Roffensis* saith, *Regis suo solium judicio reservavit Deus, qui stans in Synagogâ deorum dijudicat eos*; God hath reserved Kings to his own judgement: and the Heathen man could say, as, *Stobæus* testifieth, *primum Dei, deinde Regis est ut nulli subjiciatur, ὑ θεὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀπχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος*, first it is the priviledge of God, next of the King, to be subject unto none; because the Regall power properly is *unaccountable* to any man, as *Suidas* saith; and *Iosephus* saith, that the holiest men, that ever were among the Hebrews, (called *essæi*, or *essæni*, that is the true *practisers* of the Law of God,) maintained, that *soveraigne* Princes, whatsoever they were, ought to be inviolable to their Subiects; for they saw there was scarce *any* thing more usuall in the holy Scripture, then the *prohibition* of resistance, or *refusall* of obedience to the Prince, whether he were *Iew* or *Pagan*, milde or tyrannicall, good or bad; as to instance one place for all, where the Lord saith, *I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power, and have given it to whom it seemed meet unto me; and now I have given all those Lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon my Servant*, (and he was both a *Heathen*, an *Idolater*, and a mighty *Tyrant*) *and all Nations shall serve him and his sonne, and his sonnes sonne; and it shall come to passe, that the Nation and Kingdome, which will not serve the same Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon, and that will not put their necks under the yoake of the King of Babylon, that Nation will I punish (saith the Lord) with the Sword, and with the Famine, and with the Pestilence, until I have consumed them by his hands: therefore hearken not ye unto your Prophets, nor to your Diviners, —— which speak unto you, saying, you shall not serve the King of Babylon, for they prophesy a lye unto you*; which he repeateth again and again, *they prophesy a lye unto you, that you should perish*; and may not I apply these words to our very time? God saith I have given this Kingdome unto King *Charles*, (which is a mild, just and most pious King) and they that will say, *nolumus hunc regnare super nos*, I will destroy them by his hand; therefore, ô ye seduced *Londoners*, believe

Roffensis de potest. Papæ 291. *Ecphan. to Pythag.* l. *De Regno apud Stobæum.* fol. 335.

A principle tenet of the *Essæi*.

And some think, that the Commonwealth is happier under a Tyrant, that will keep the in awe, then under too mild a Prince, upon whose clemency, they will presume to Rebell.

Iere. 27. 5, 6.

A memorable place against resisting Tyrants.

lieve not your false Prophets, nay, hearken not to your *diviners*, your *Anabaptists* and *Brownists* that preach *lies*, and lies upon lies, unto you, that you should perish; for *God hath not sent them*, though they multiply their *lies* in *his name*: therefore why will you *dye*, why will you *destroy* your selves, and your *posterity*, by refusing to submit your selves to mine *ordinance*? and what should God say more unto you to hinder your destruction? and it was concluded by a whole Councell, that, *si quis potestati regiæ, quæ non est (teste Apostolo) nisi à deo, contumaci & afflato spiritu obtemperare irrefragabiliter noluerit, anathematizetur.* Whosoever resisteth the *Kings* Power, and with a proud spirit will not obey him, let him be accursed.

Concil. Matiscon. apud Roffen. l. 2. c. 5. *de potest. papæ.*

But then you will say, this is *strange* doctrine, that *wholly* takes away the *liberty* of the Subject, if they may not resist regall tyranny.

Ob.

I think there is no *good* Subject, that loves his *Soveraigne* that will speake against a *iust* and lawfull liberty, when it is a farre greater honour unto any King, to rule over a free and gentile Subjects, then over *base* and turkish slaves; but as under the *shadow* and pretence of *Christian* liberty, many *carnall* men have rooted out of their hearts all *christianity*; so many *Rebellions* & aspiring minds have, under these colourable *titles* of the *liberty* of the Subjects, and suppressing *tyranny*, shaked of the *yoke* of all *true* obedience, and dashed the *rights* of government all to pieces; therefore, as the *law* of God and the rules of his owne *conscience*, should keep every *Christian* King from exercising any *iniust* tyranny over his Subjects; so, if men will *transcend* the rules of due obedience, the Kings *Power* and Authority should keep them from *transgressing* the limits of their *iust* liberty: but this *unlawfulnesse* of resisting our *lawfull* King, I have *fully* proved in my *Grand Rebellion*, and it is so *excellently* well done by *many* others, that I shall but *acta agere* to say any more of it.

Sol.

Many evills to lurk under fair shewes.

CHAP. XVII.

CHAP. XVII.

Sheweth how tribute is due to the King; for ſixe ſpeciall reaſons to be paid; the condition of a lawfull tribute; that we ſhould not be niggards to aſſiſt the King; that we ſhould defend the Kings Perſon; the wealth and Pride of London, *the cauſe of all the miſeries of this Kingdome; and how we ought to pray for our King.*

The great charge of Princes.

4. TRibute is another *right* and part of that honour, which we owe unto our King. *Negotia enim infinita ſuſtinet, æquabile ius omnibus adminiſtrat, periculum à republica, cùm neceſſitas poſtulat, armis & virtute propulſat, bonis præmia pro dignitate conſtituit, improbos ſuppliciorum acerbitate coercet, patriam denique univerſam, & ab externis hoſtibus, & ab inteſtinis fraudibus tutam vigilantia ſua præſtat: hæc quidem munera aut opere tuetur, aut quoties opus fuerit, tuenda ſuſcipit; qui autem exiſtimat hæc tam multa munera ſine maximis ſumptibus ſuſtineri poſſe, mentis expers eſt, atque vitæ communis ignarus: & idcirco hoc, quod & communi more receptum eſt, ut reges populi ſumptibus alantur, non eſt humano tantum iure, ſed etiam divino vallatum*: ſaith Eloquent *Oſorius*. For he undergoeth *infinite* affaires; he adminiſtreth *equall* right to all his people; he expelleth and keepeth away from the Common-wealth all *dangers*, when *neceſſity* requireth, both with armes and proweſſe; he appointeth *rewards* to the good and faithfull according to their deſarts; he reſtraineth the *wicked* with the *ſharpeneſſe* and ſeverity of puniſhments; and he preſerveth his *Country* and Kingdome ſafe by his *care* and watchfulneſſe, both from *Forraigne* foes and *inteſtine* fraudes; and theſe *offices* he diſchargeth *indeed*, and undertaketh to diſcharge them as often as any *need* requireth; And he that thinketh that *all* theſe things, ſo *many* and ſo *great* affaires, can be diſcharged without great *coſt* and charge, is voyd of *underſtanding* and ignorant of the *common* courſe of life; and therefore *this* thing, which is received by

Oſorius de rebus Emanuel. lib. 12. p. 386.

by a *common* custome, that Kings should be *assisted*, and their royalty maintained, by the *publique* charge of the people, is not only *allowed* by humane law, but is also *confirmed* by the divine right.

Men should therefore consider that the *occasions* of Kings are very great; *abroad*, for intelligence, and correspondency with *Forraigne* States, that we may reap the fruit of *other* Nations, vent our *owne* commodities to our best advantage, and be guarded, secured, and preserved from all our outward enemies; and *at home*, to support a due *State* answerable to his place, to maintaine the *publique* justice and judgements of the whole Kingdome, and a hundred such like occasions, that every *private* man cannot perceive: and thinke you that *these* things can be done without *meanes*, without mony? if you still poure *out* and not poure *in*, your bottle will be soon empty, and the *Ocean* sea would be soon dried up, if the *Rivers* did not still supply the same: and therefore not only *Deioces*, that I spake of before, when he was *elected* King of the *Medes*, caused them to build him a most *stately* Palace, and the famous City of *Ecbatana*, and to give him a goodly *band* of select men, for the safeguard of his Person, and to provide all *other* things fitting for the *Majesty* of a King, and all the *other* Kings of the Gentiles did the like, as well they might, if it be true, that some of them thought,

Quicquid habet locuples, quicquid custodit avarus,
Jure quidem nostrum est, populo concedimus usum. *Gunterus.*

But also *Solomon*, and all the rest of the Kings of *Israell* required no *small* ayd and tribute from their Subjects; for though *Tertull.* out of *Deut.* 23. 17. reads it, there shall not be πλεσθόλεσ, *vectigal pendens*, a payer of *tribute* of the sonnes of *Israell*; yet *Pamelius* well observes it, that these words are not in the *originall*, but are taken by him out of the *septuagint*, which also saith not of the *sons*, but τῶν θυγατέρων, of the *daughters* of *Israell*, that is, *ex impudicitia & lupanaribus*, for their dishonesty, as it is said in the next *verse*, that *the hire of a whore and the price of a dogge are an abominat. on unto the Lord*; and so S. *Aug.* useth the word *Teleta*, for those *unchast* sacrifices wherewith such women did oblige themselves; and so doth *Theodoret* likewise.

1. *Reg.* 12. 4.

Tertull. to. 3. *de pudicit. c.* 9. *Pamel. in Tertull.*

Deut. 23. 18.

Aug. de civit. dei. l. 10. *c.* 9.

wiſe: but that the Iewes paid *tribute*, it is manifeſt out of 1. *Sam.* 17.24. where this reward is promiſed to him that killed *Goliah*, that his fathers houſe ſhould be *abſq; tributo*, free from all tribute in *Iſrael*; therefore certainly they paid *tribute*, and to make it yet more plaine, *Solomon* appointed *Ieroboam, ſuper tributa univerſæ domûs Ioſeph*, ſaith the *vulgar* lat. over all the charge or burthen of the houſe of *Ioſeph*, (that is, of the tribe of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes*) as our tranſlation reads it; and he appointed *Adoniram* the ſon of *Abda* over the tribute. 1. *Reg.* 4.6.

1. Sam. 17. 25. in vulgata editione.

2. reg. 11. 28.

Barrad to 2. l. 5. c. 21. p. 342.

Yea, though the *Iewes* were the people of God, and thought themſelves *free* and no wayes obliged to be taxed by *Forraigne* Princes, that were Ethnicks: yet after *Pompey* took their City, they paid *tribute* to the *Romans*; and our Saviour bids us not *only* to obey, but alſo to *render unto Cæſar what is Cæſars*, that is (not determining the *quota pars*, how much, as he doth the *tenth* unto the Prieſt) but *indefinitely*, ſome part of our goods, for *ſubſidies*, impoſts, aids, loanes, or call it by what name you will; and rather then himſelfe would *omit* this duty, though he never wrought any *other* miracle about mony; yet herein, when he had *never* a peny, he would *create* mony in the mouth of a fiſh, as S. *Hierome* and the interlin. gloſſe do think, and command the fiſh to pay *tribute* both for himſelfe and his Apoſtle. Therefore we ſhould render unto *Cæſar* what is *Cæſars*; that is, φόρους, τέλος, τίμους, which the Greekes take *promiſcuouſly*, though the *Civilians* diſtinguiſh them, *de ſolo & fundo, de bonis mobilibus, & de mercibus*, of our grounds, of our goods, of our merchandize, we ought to pay *ſubſidies*, aid and tribute unto our King; and that not *ſparingly* nor by way of *benevolence*, as if it were in our *power*, to doe it, or not to doe it, *ſed ex debito*, but as his due, *iure divino, & regulâ iuſtitiæ*; as his proper *importance* annexed unto his Crowne; for I take it infallibly true, which *Suarez* ſaith, *acceptationem populi non eſſe conditionem neceſſariam tributi ex vi iuris naturalis aut gentium, neq; ex iure communi: quia obligatio pendendi tributum ita naturalis eſt principi & per ſe orta ex ratione iuſtitiæ, ut non poſſit quis excuſari propter apparentem iniuſtitiam vel nimium gravamen*; the conſent of the people is not any *neceſſary* condition of tribute; becauſe

Barrad. to 2. l. 10. c. 32. p. 317.

Suarez. de leg. l. 5. c. 17. n. 3. fol. 316.

Tribute due to the King.

cause the obligation of paying it is so naturall, springing out of the reason of justice, that none can be excused for any *apparent* injustice or grievance: and therefore the Parliaments, that are the *highest* representations of any Kingdome, doe not contribute any *right* unto Kings to challenge tribute, but doe determine the *quota pars*, and to further the more *equall* imposing and collecting of that, which is due unto Kings by *naturall* and originall justice, as a part of that proper *inheritance* which is annexed unto their Crownes.

And therefore, our Saviour doth not say, *give unto Cæsar*, but ἀπόδοτε τῷ Καίσαρι, the same word which S. *Paul* u- Matth. 22.
seth, when he biddeth us to *pay* our debts, and to *owe* nothing to any man, saying, ἀπόδοτε πᾶσι τὰς ὀφειλάς, pay to every man Rom. 13.
that which you owe: and Father *Latimer* saith, if we deny him *Latimer* in
tribute, custome, subsidy, tallage, taxes, and the like aid and Mat. 22. 21.
support, we are no better then *Theeves*, and steale the Kings dues from him; because the Law testifieth *tributa esse maximè naturalia, & præ se ferre justitiam, quia exiguntur de rebus propriis*: and *Suarez* saith, *penditur tributum ad sustentationem principis, & ad satisfaciendum naturali obligationi in dando stipendium justum laboranti in nostram utilitatem*; tribute is most naturall and iust to be paid to the King for our own good: therefore Christ pleading for the right of *Cæsar*, that was a Tyrant, saith not, give unto him, *quia petit*, because he demands it, but pay unto him, *quæ illius sunt*, the things that are his, and are due unto him, even as due as the *hirelings* wages, which we are commanded not to detaine for *one* night, because this is a part of that Deut. 24. 15.
reward and wages, which God alloweth him for all his *paines* and cares, that he takes to see *Iustice* administred in the time of *Peace*, and to protect us from our *enimies* in the time of *Warre*; which makes the *life* of Kings to be but a kind of *splendid* misery, wearing many times, with Christ, a Crowne of *Thornes*, a Crowne *full* of cares, while we lap our heads in beds of *downe*; and therefore it is not only *undutifulnesse* to deny him, or *unthankfulnesse*, not to requite the great good that he doth unto us, but it is also a great *injustice*, (especially if we consider that as *Ockam* saith, *Qui est Dominus aliquarum personarum est Do-*

Never. apud Suarez de legibus fol. 300. fol. 311.

minus rerum ad easdem personas spectantium; omnia quæ sunt in regno sunt regis, quoad potestatem utendi eis pro bono communi, Ocha. tract. 2. l. 2. c. 22. & 25.) to detaine that *right* from him, which God commands us to *pay* unto him, and that indeed for our *own* good; as *Menenius Agrippa* most *wittily* shewed unto the People of *Rome* when they murmured & mutined for these taxes, that whatsoever the stomack received, either from the *hand* or mouth, it was all for the benefit of the *whole* body; so whatsoever the *King* receiveth from the *People*, it is for the benefit of the *people*, and it is like the *waters* that the Sea receiveth from the Rivers, which is *visibly* seen passing into the Ocean, but *invisibly* runneth, through the *veines* of the earth, into the rivers againe; so doth all that the King receiveth from the People, returne some way or other unto the People again.

And there be sixe speciall reasons why, or to what end we should pay these dues unto the King.

Six reasons for which we pay Tribute unto the King.

1. For the *Honour* of His Majesty.
2. For the *security* of His Person.
3. For the *protection* of his Kingdome.
4. For the *succour* of His confederates.
5. For the securing of our { 1. Goods. 2. Estates. 3. Lives.
6. For the *propagating* of the Gospell, and defence of our Religion.

But for the further *clearing* of this poynt, you must know that every just and *Lawfull* tribute must have these three essentiall conditions that are *proprietates constitutiva*.

Three conditions of every lawfull Tribute.

1. *Legitima potestas*, that is, the Kings power to require it.
2. *Justa causa*, an urgent *necessity*, or need of it.
3. *Debita portio*, a due *proportion*, according to the Kings *necessities*, and the peoples *abilities*, that he be not left in need, nor the people overcharged. For

As the Subjects are thus bound to supply the *necessities* of their King, so the King is not to *over-charge* his Subiects; for the King should be the *Shepheard* of his People, as *David* calls himselfe, and *Homer* tearmeth all good Kings, and not the de-

vourer

vourer of his people, as *Achilles* calleth *Agamemnon* for the *unreasonable* taxes that he laid upon them; therefore *good* Kings have been very *sparing* in this poynt; for *Darius*, inquiring of the governours of his Provinces, whether the *tributes* imposed upon them were not too *excessive*, and they answering, that they thought them very *moderate*, he commanded that they should raise but the one *half* thereof, (which had *Roboam* bin so wise to do, he had not lost ten parts of his Kingdom;) and *Lewis* the ninth of *France*, which they say was the *first* that raised a taxe in that Kingdome, directing his *Speech* to his sonne *Philip*, and causing the words to be left in his *Testament*, which is yet to be found Registred in the *chamber* of accounts, said, be *devout* in the service of God, have a *pittifull* heart towards the poore, and *comfort* them with thy good deeds, observe the good *Lawes* of thy Kingdome, take *no taxes* nor benevolences of thy Subjects, unlesse *urgent* necessity, and evident commodity force thee to it, and then upon a *just* cause, and not *unduly*; if thou doest *otherwise*, thou shalt not be accounted a King, but a *Tyrant*; and it is one of the gratious *apothegmes* of our late noble and *never* to be forgotten Soveraigne, worthy to be written in letters of *gold*, where speaking to his sonne, he saith, *Inrich not your selfe with exactions from your Subiects, but think the riches of your Subiects your best treasures*: & *Artaxer.* said, it was a great deale more *seemlier* for the Majesty of a King, to *give*, then to take by polling, to *cloath* then to *uncloath*, which belongeth to *Theeves*, not to *Princes*; unlesse they will stain their names: for as *Apollonius* saith, that *gold*, which is taken by Tyranny is farre baser then any *iron*, because it is wetted with the *teares* of the poor Subjects; and therefore *Peter de la Primanday*, saith, they are unworthy of the *title* of Prince, that lending their eares to such as invent *new* wayes to get monies from their Subiects, and having against all humanity, spoyled them of their goods, do either *miserably* consume them upon their pleasures, or *prodigally* bestow them upon undeserving flatterers, that *fat* themselves by the *overthrow* of others.

Kings should not overcharge their Subjects.

A worthy speech of *Lewis* 9.

King *Lewes* his golden apothegme, *Basilicon doron. l. 2. p. 59.*

Pet. de la primaudaye. cap. 60. p. 670.

And therefore it behoveth all Kings to consider, that all mens *goods* are theirs only *quoad custodiam, & defensionem*, and their

their Subjects *quoad possessionem & proprietatem*; as you may see, where *Joseph* bought all the Land of the *Egyptians* for King *Pharaoh*, and then let it them againe in Fee farme, to give the *King* the fift part of the fruit of it; and as you may conclude it from the eight Commandement, which saith, as well to the *King* as to the Subject, *thou shalt not steale*; for if all be his, he cannot be said to *steale* it; and if this *precept* concernes not Kings, then have they but nine Commandements; and therefore, *be wise, ô ye Kings*, and remember what Saint *Augustine* saith, *remota justitia quid sunt Regna nisi Latrocinia?* for though you may iustly demand Tribute and Taxes, yet you must have *iust* occasions to use them, and you must take but a iust *proportion*, or else they may come *uniustly* unto you.

Gen. 47. 46.

But who shall be the Judges of the Kings iust occasions? in many Kingdoms his *conscience*; as the *Roman* consuls imposed what taxes they thought *meet* upon the Provinces they subdued; so *Marc. Antonius* being in *Asia*, doubled their Taxe, and laid a *second* charge upon the People, which was very unreasonable, as *Hebreus* told him, saying, if thou wilt have power to lay upon us *two taxes* in one yeare, thou must have also power to give us *two Summers* and two *Autumnes*, two *Harvests* and two *Vintages*; and yet if our King doe thus *unreasonably* taxe us with *more* then we are *able* to beare, we may reason with him, as *Hebreus* did with *M. Antony*, refell his *arguments*, and repell his *oppressions* according to the course of *Law*, but we may not in any case with the Sword make any *resistance*, either actuall or habituall, against him.

The saying of *Hebreus* to *M. Antonius*.

Kings herein not to be resisted.

1. Reason. 1. Because God hath not made us *Judges* of the Kings occasions, and we know not his *necessities*; and therefore we cannot *determine* what is Iust and uniust.

2. Reason. 2. Were it granted, that the superior demanded without *right*, yet the inferior not only may rightly render it without *offence* unto his conscience, but also ought to pay it without *resistance* unto the Magistrate; for if the *Iewes* were not free, and the *Romans* had no right to demand Tribute of them, yet by our Saviours *question* unto S. *Peter*, and his *replication* unto the Apostles answer, it is apparent, that our Saviour was most *free*,

and

and was no way bound to pay any thing unto the *Romans*, not only *quâ deus*, as *Hesselius* saith, but also as he was a *man*, as *Barradius* more truly proveth; yet lest he should *offend* them, as he saith, *tributum solvit quia voluit*, he doth most *willingly* discharge it; to teach us, that we *may* and ought *justly* and without any *scruple* of conscience pay that, which may be *unjustly* demanded; and the best Authors, that I have read, are of the *same* judgement; we have no other *remedy* but to cry to God, who can *judge* them for their *injustice*; *& non caret modis, quibus possit, quando voluerit, huiusmodi principes tollere vel emendare.*

Hesselius in Matth. 18. *Barrad.* to 2. l. 10. c. 32. p. 718.

Greg. Tholos. l. 26 *de repub.* c 5. n. 25.

But, though in most of the *Easterne* Countries, the *Kings* imposed upon their Subjects, what taxes and tributes pleased themselves, as *Augustus* taxed all the world, as *much* as he would, at his own pleasure, and *Charles* the fifth (saith *Osorius*) *praeter pecunias quibus illum hispani juverant, immania tributa populis imperavit*, besides those monyes, wherewith the *Spaniards* assisted him, laid most *heavy* taxes upon the people; which is indeed a branch of the *absolute* right of Kings, and was *originally* practised by most of them; yet here with us, our Kings out of *grace* and *favour* unto their people, granted such a *privi-ledge* unto their Subjects, and divested themselves of this *right*, to lay no *impositions* or taxes upon their Subjects, without the consent of their *three States* convened in the two Houses of Parliament; and this Princely *concession*, being truly observed, may procure a great deale of love and peace unto the King, and as much *tranquillity* and happinesse unto the people. Neither doe I think that he *loves* his King, but am sure that he *hates* his Countrey, that would perswade him for all the wealth of the Kingdome, to *violate* his owne grant and faith herein; but, as our Kings granted this *favour*, to impose no taxes without the *consent* of his Parliament; so his Parliament in all duty, ought *alwayes* with all thankfulnesse, to acknowledge this *speciall* grace, and in requitall thereof most fully to supply his *wants* and support his necessities, whensoever he acquaints them therewith.

Osor. de rebus Emanuel. l. 12. p. 386.

What the Kings of England promised to their Subjects.

That we should not be niggards to assist our King.

And therefore we ought not to be like those hide-bound *Sectaries*,

Sectaries, and close-fisted *Puritans* and *Brownists*, that are so *miserably* covetous, and extreame niggards, that when the King makes knowne his *wants* and demands his due, (for it is still his *due*, though he granted not to *cesse* it without their consent) for his royall *supportation* and the safety of his Kingdome, they will find a hundred excuses to *deny* him, but never a penny to *give* him out of all their wealth; and this is the *cause* of our misery, and may prove as *fatall* to us, as it hath been to the *Constantinopolitans*; whose churlishnesse and niggardlinesse towards their *Emperour*, was the chiefest cause of the losse of that *great* Empire, and to make the *Turke* sit in Christ his Chaire, to have *Mahomet* adored where the *Gospell* was formerly published, by as many *famous* Fathers, as now *England* hath Preachers; for the Emperour foreseeing the *Siege*, made many *motions* for contributions, towards the repairing of the *walles*, and continue the *military* charge; but the *Subjects* drew back and pleaded *want*, untill it was too *late*, and the City *lost*; for though the enemy having a long time besieged it, was *intended* to give over the Siege, and to be gone; yet *tydings* and intelligence being given him, that the *Souldiers* within the Towne, were growne very *thin* and discontented for want of their pay, the enemy *returned*, and in a short space took the City: and there found, in *private* mens hands, such *infinite* store of gold and all manner of treasure, (the *hundred* part whereof would have *paid* all the Souldiers, *kept* out the enemy, and *preserved* them all) that the *Turke*, seeing the *baseness* of the Citizens, so *foolishly* hiding their wealth, and denying *just* aid unto their Emperour, stood *amazed*, and lifting up his hands to heaven, *lamented* their folly, and asked what they *meant*, that having such a *store* of wealth, they would *suffer* themselves to be thus destroyed, only for want of *wit* or of *grace* to use it? and thence grew the *Proverbe* among the Turkes unto this day, when one becommeth very rich, *you have been at the Siege of Constantinople*. And I pray God it may not so fall out with us for our *covetousnesse*, that we prove not *Lucans* speech to be true: *omnia dat, qui iusta negat*, to loose all unjustly unto *strangers*, unto *rebells*, because we deny what is *just* unto our King. But I will conclude this point with the Poet,

How *Constant.* was lost, & what the Turke then said.

Astra

Astra deo nil majus habent, nil Cæsare terra,
Sic Cæsar terras ut deus astra regit.
Imperium regis Cæsar, deus astra gubernat,
Cæsar honore suo dignus, amore dei.
Dignus amore dei, dignus quoq; Cæsar honore est,
Alter enim terras, alter & astra regit.
Cum deus in cælis, Cæsar regat omnia terris,
Censum Cæsaribus solvite, vota deo.

5. *Defence* of his Person is another principall part of that *honour*, which we owe unto our King. And the very *heathens* did think their *lives* well bestowed for their *Gods*, their *family*, & the *father* of the Country; how much more willing should the *Christians* be, to hazard their lives in defence of their King, which is, *quasi unus è decem millibus*, worth ten thousands of us, being, as the Scripture termes him, the *light of Israell*, and *the breath of our nostrills*, the *head* of his Subjects, the *shepheard* and Pastor of the people, and as the word βασιλὲυς importeth βάσις τῶν λαῶν, the *foundation* of the people, without which they must all *fall* unto the ground; for where there is no *government* all must perish, and there will be no *Priest*, no *Prince*, no *Religion*, no *Nobility*, no *good*, but *anarchy* and confusion, and the destruction of all things. And if we ought *to lay downe our lives for the brethren*, as S. *John* saith, how much rather ought we to doe it for our King? it is recorded in our annals, to his eternall praise, that Sir *Hubert Syncler* at the Siege of *Bridgenorth*, seeing an arrow that was shot at his Master, King *Henry* the second, stepped betwixt the shaft and his *Soveraigne*, and receiving the arrow into his body, was therewith shot through to death, that he might preserve the *life* of his King, which otherwise had been slaine in his stead. So *Turnbull* had his name for killing a *Bull*, that had otherwise slaine one of the Kings of *Scotland*; and we read that when *David* was assayled by a mighty Giant, named *Ishibibenob*, which was of the sonnes of *Rapha*, the head of whose speare weighed three hundred shekells of brasse, *Abishai* the son of *Zervia*, with the danger of his owne *life* runs in, succours the *King*, and kills the *Philistim*. 2. *Sam.* 21. 17. and so all other *good* Subjects have had a *speciall* care

5. Defence of the Kings Person.

2. Sam. 21. 17. Lament. 2. 4. Ps. 78. 71. 72. *vide Isa.* 3. 4. c. 10. 3. and Lament. 2. 9.

1. Iohn. 3. 16.

Nulla gens ita sollicita est circare genium suum sicut apes, unde rege incolumi omnibus mens una est, & quando aequit volare, fert ipsum turba apum; & si moritur moriuntur & ipsæ.

care to preſerve the *lives* of their Kings, whom they loved better then their owne *Parents*, yea then their *wives* or children, or their owne lives, as it appeareth by the foreſaid *examples* and abundance of the *like*, that you may find in the hiſtories of the heathens: for they had not learnt the *new* divinity of our time, to *deſtroy* the King for the *good* of his Subiects, but they *thought*, as it is moſt true, that *ſalus regis eſt ſalus populi*, and they *beleeved*, as all good Chriſtians doe, that

Una ſalus nobis, nullam ſperare ſalutem,

Principe calcato, ſublato iure corona; becauſe as S. *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, ὁ ἀσίτων σωτηρία ὑμῶν ἀσφάλεια, their ſafety is our ſecurity, and as S. *Auguſt.* ſaith, *ſi tollis iura Imperatorum, quis audet dicere mea eſt illa villa*, if you take away the government of *Kings*, who dares ſay, *hæc mea ſunt*, this or that is mine, as *now*. God knowes, ſince theſe *Rebells* have abuſed our King, we can ſay nothing is our owne; our *houſes*, goods, lives and liberties are at the diſpoſing of *them* that are ſtrongeſt; what then ſhall we ſay of *thoſe* Subiects that ſtrive with all their *wit*, wealth and ſtrength to *deſtroy* their King? and if you aske me why? I muſt anſwer, as *Ariſtides* was baniſhed out of *Athens*, *iuſtus, quia iuſtus*, ſo muſt our King be *killed*, if theſe men could doe it with their Cãnon Bullets, becauſe he is *too good* to raigne over them; who deſerved, not a pious *David*, nor a wiſe *Solomon* to rule over them, but a fooliſh *Reboboam*, that would whip them with *Scorpions*, or ſuch a one as would *rule them with a rod of iron, and breake them in pieces like a potters veſſell* for had our King been, not *Cæſar Auguſtus*, but *Auguſtus ſeverus*, ſo *ſevere* as *Henry*. 8. or ſome other more unmerciful Princes, theſe *rebells* durſt as well eate their owne fleſh, as thus to devoure the fleſh and bones of the Kings loyall Subiects, and ſeek the death of the King himſelfe.

Chryſoſt. in 1. Tim. 2. 2. *Aug.* to. 9. *tract.* 6. *in Iohan.*

Pſa. 2. 9.

For it is moſt *certaine* of the *vulgar* people, and of ill bred natures, that *ungentes pungunt, pungentes molliter ungunt*; and therefore though the manifold offers of *Peace*, and the unparalleld promiſing of *Pardons* to moſt *obſtinate* rebells, doe infinitely commend the piety and declare the *mildneſſe* of a moſt clement Prince, and the refuſall thereof betray the *ingrateful* ſtubberneſſe

stubbornenesse of *graceless* Subjects to all posterity; yet, when the *hairy* scalpe of such as *still* go on in their wickednesse, will not so *easily* be rubbed off. I should say to *every* King, put your trust in Gods assistance; and as the Holy Ghost saith to *the King of Kings, Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty; ride on with thine honour, and let thy right hand teach thee terrible things*: and those thine enemies that *would not thou shouldst raigne over them*, cause them to be brought, and let them *be slaine before thee*, so shalt thou be *a ruler in the midst of thine enemies*; and some thinke that it were but *just* if our King, though he be never so *loath*, should now at last turne the *leafe*, and follow the example of God himselfe, (who when his children regard not his *grace*, and set at naught all his *counsels*, will *laugh at their calamity, and mocke when their destruction commeth* as *a whirle-winde*) and should make *London* as *Hierusalem*, and as other the like *rebellious* Cities, (that the Lord in his just *revenge* of their iniquity hath suffered to be destroyed, and to be made *an heape of stones*:) because the *Londoners* have shewed themselves in *many* things worse then the *Jews*, and for *rebellion* have justified all the *Cities* of the world: or if the King will not do this, though I dare not say of them, as *Antoninus*, after he had heard the *confession* of a miserable covetous wretch, said unto him, *Deus misereatur tui, si vult, & condonet tibi peccata tua, quod non credo, & perducat te in vitam aternam quod est impossibile*; yet seeing their sinnes are so *intolerable* among men, and so *abhominable* in the sight of God, it is much feared, that κατὰ τὴν σκληρότητα καὶ ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν, after their *hard* hearts, which cannot repent, they will still *proceed* to heape upon themselves the *heavy* wrath of God, till there be no *remedy* to preserve them from *utter* ruine and destruction; though from my heart I wish them *more* grace, and pray to Almighty God, that *——Nullum sit in omine pondus*; Or if this cannot be, that they may escape that *damnation*, which the Apostle threatneth to all them that *resist* this *ordinance* of God.

Psal. 45. 3.

Luke 19. 27.

Prov. 1. 16, 17.

The wealth & pride of the Citie of *London* have brought this misery and calamity upon all the Kingdome of *England*.

Rom. 2. 5.

Rom. 13. 2.

6. The *last* but not the *least* part of that honour which is due to our King, is our *prayers* to God for him; and as the

6. Prayers for the King.

Arnisæus c. 2. p. 38.

other duty was to be performed by the *practice* of all good Subjects, so is this to be observed by the *precept* of the Apostle, who though the Kings were *Ethnicks* and Tyrants, yet commandeth us *to pray for them*; and that you may know what *manner* of prayer the Christians made for their persecuting Kings. *Tertullian* that lived under the Emperour *Severus*, saith in the behalfe of all the Church, *Omnibus Imperatoribus precamur vitam prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, & quæcunque hominis & Cæsaris vota sunt*; and I feare me our *Rebels* pray for none of these things to a most *Christian* King: *Nam orare pro aliquo & in exitium ejus machinari, annon hæc sunt sibi contraria?* for to *pray* for ones *health* and long life, and to doe our best to worke his *destruction*.

Tertul. ad Scap. Ita Marcus Aurelius Christianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis siccas & victoriam in expeditione Germanica impetravit.

Non bene conveniunt —— can never proceed from a *true* heart, but as the *uncharitable* Papists prayed for the successe of the *Gun-powder Plot*, (which was a Treason *sine exemplo, quia crudelis sine modo*) saying,

Gentem auferto perfidam
Credentium de finibus,
Ut Christo preces debitas
Persolvamus alacriter.

So the *practice* of these Rebels makes us believe their prayer is,

Regem auferto perfidum
Credentium de finibus, * *&c.*

*I am ashamed to set downe how the *factious* and malicious Preachers of the rebellious Cities, either *neglect* to pray at all, or pray most *seditiously* and unchristianly for their owne *Liege* Lord, and *gracious* King; and therefore the *curse* of *Iudas* lights upon them, that *their prayer is turned into sinne*, which should make them pray, that *Iudas* his *end* should not fall unto them.

But we that desire to follow the Apostles *Precept*, considering the greatnesse of his *cares* and charge that he doth undergoe, and the multitude of *dangers* that he is liable to, will *most* heartily pray to God both in our *Morning* and our *Evening* Prayers, both at our *sitting* and at our *rising* from our meat, *Ut vivat Rex, exurgat Deus, & dissipentur inimici*; that *God would give his Angels charge over him to preserve him in all his wayes, that he dash not his foot against a stone*: that *his enemies may be cloathed with shame*, and that *he may flourish as the Lillie*, that he may raigne *long* and happily here, and raigne for *ever* in Heaven: this shall be my prayer for ever.

CHAP. XVIII.

The persons that ought to honour the King; and the recapitulation of 21 wickednesses of the Rebels, and the faction of the pretended Parliament.

3. HAving seene the *Person* that is to be honoured, and the *honour* that is due unto him, we are now to consider in the *last* place, *who* are to honour him, *included* in this word τιμᾶτε, honour ye him; which being *unlimited* and indefinite, is equivalent to an *universall*; and so S. *Paul* doth more plainly expresse it, saying, πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω, *Let every soule be subject to the higher powers*; which is an Hebrew *idiome*, or Synecdochicall speech, signifying the whole man; the word ψυχὴ being *usually* taken in Scripture *pro toto composito*, for the *whole* man composed of body and soule, as where it is said, that *Jacob went downe into Egypt with* 70 *soules*; and S. *Peter* by one Sermon converted 3000 soules: and the abstract word ψυχὴ is here taken ἰδιωτικῶς, to shew that our *subjection*, obedience, and honour, which we are to ascribe unto our King, must be not as *hypocrites* render it in *shew*, from the teeth outward, but *really* and indeed *ex animo* from our soules and the bottome of our hearts, as *Aquinas* glosseth it: and the concrete πᾶσα added unto it, makes it the more *energeticall*, to shew that all *mortall* men, none excepted, are obliged, to doe this *honour*, and to yeeld this *subjection* unto their King: for, seeing *every* man, both spirituall and temporall; and every *sex*, both man and woman; and every *degree* of men, young and old, rich and poore, one with another, hath an *immortall* soule, as well as a *mortall* body, it must needs follow, that all, *cujuscunque gradûs, sexûs, & conditionis*, are obliged both in soule and body to *honour* and obey their King.

3. The persons that must honour the King.

Rom. 13. 1.

Gen. 46. 26, 27. Act. 2.

And yet it is strange to see how *many* men can exempt themselves and grant a *dispensation* unto their soules for the performance of this duty; for the *Pope* will be freed, because he hath a power *above* all powers, to *depose* Kings, and to dispose of

The Pope and his Clergie would be freed from the subjection of Kings.

of their Kingdomes at his pleasure; and the *Popish Clergy* will performe no duty unto their King, because their function is *spirituall*; but to all these I may *truly* say, as our Saviour doth to the *leaud* servant, *ex ore tuo*, out of the Fathers whom they acknowledge, and out of their owne Authors they are confuted; for S. *Chrysostome* saith, that whether he be an *Apostle*, or *Evangelist*, or *Prophet*, *Seu quisquis tandem fuerit*, or whosoever else he be, Pope, Cardinall, or Deacon, he is commanded to be *subject* to the higher power; and that you may see *what* power he meanes, he pointeth out the *same* by the symbol, that is, of him that carryeth the *sword*, which you know must be the *secular* Prince, and not the *spirituall* Pope; and so not onely *Euthym.* *Theophylact.* *Oecumenius*, and other Greek Commentators doe avouch, but also those *Epistles*, which are recorded by *Binius*, and quoted by the Bishop of *Durham*, as *Leo* 1. *ep.* 26. & 35. *Simplicius* 1. *ep.* 4. *Felix* 3. *ep.* 2. *Anastasius* 1. *ep.* 78. *Pelagius* 1. *ep.* 16. *Martinus* 1. *ep.* 3. *Agatho* 1. *ep. ad Heracl.* *Hadrian.* 1. *ep. ad Constant.* doe make this most manifest unto us; and therefore *Espencæus*, convinced by such a *cloud* of witnesses, confesseth very *honestly*, that the Apostle here, *Docet omnes credentes mundi potestatibus esse subjectos, nempe, sive Apostolus, sive Evangelista, &c. ut tenet Chrysost. Euthym. & qui non Græci?*

Espens. in Tit. 3. 1. *Digres.* 10. *p.* 5. 13. *Paris.* 1568.

The wickednesses of the pretended Parliament shewed by their actions.

And as the *Popelings* will be free, so the *Presbyterians*, and the *faction* of this Parliament will be as free as they; and (because every *wickednesse* laboureth to *exceed* that which preceded) these doe not agree with the *Catholiques* (as *Herod* and *Pilate* did, to crucifie Christ) in the same *conclusion* and tenet of exemption, but they will goe a note beyond *Ela*, and surmount both *Jesuite* and *Pope*; and therefore they not onely *dishonour* and disobey their King, but they have *violated* and incroached upon *all* his rights, and assumed the same into their *owne* hands; for, to *recapitulate* some of their *choycest* wickednesses:

It

1. As the Church of *Rome* and the *Jesuites* teach, *in Aphorismis confessariorum, ex Doctorum sententiis collectis*, p. 249. that *Rex potest per rempublicam privari ab tyrannidem, & si non faciat*

faciat officium suum, & cum est causa aliqua justa, & eligi alius à majore parte populi: which falshood their *owne* Divines confute, when *Royard* saith, *Rege constituto, non potest populus jugum subjectionis repellere*: so these men maintaine that *diabolicall* tenet, that the *Regall* power is *primarily* in the *collective* body, and derived to the King *cumulativè*, not *privativè*; and therefore upon the Kings *neglect* or male-administration, it comes backe againe to the *collective* body, in whom it resideth *suppletivè*, to discharge the royall duty when the King *faileth* to doe the same; and then the King so *falling* from his right, they may *refuse* obedience, and if they see *cause* (which they can soone do) they may *depose* him from his office; which *impudent* falshood I have *fully* confuted in this Treatise.

Royard in dom. 1. advent.

They teach the deposition of Kings.

2. They say the *Regall* Majestie is a *humane* creature, or the ordinance of *men* primarily, and therefore may be *deposed* by men; when as *Cunerus* could say, *Sive electione, sive postulatione, vel successione, vel belli jure princeps fiat, principi tamen facto divinitus potestas adest*: and therefore they have no power to take away that which God hath given him. 2.

3. They have with *Nadab* and *Abihu* adventured to offer *strange* fire upon Gods Altar, and with *Uzza* to lay their *prophane* hands upon Gods holy *Arke*; they have rejected the Lawes that the *King* with the advice and consultation of all his *learned* Clergy hath made *, and they themselves sit in *Moses* chaire, and have undertaken to *reforme* the Church, to *make* Lawes, and *compose* Articles of our faith, with the advice of a few *factious* men, that were never *esteemed* otherwise then *fax Cleri*, not worthy to be the *Curates* of those *worthy* Divines, whose *fees* they hurt in the stocks, and send the *iron* into their soules. 3.

* Though now I reckon not this among their wickednesses.

4. They have cast out all the *Bishops*, and all the *faithfull* Ministers of Christ out of all offices, that might *further* the Gospell, and administer *justice* unto the people; they doe *rob* them of their meanes, and count *sacrilege* to be no sinne; and in very deed, they have *persecuted* the worthiest Clergy, in *many* particulars, farre worse then ever *Julian*, that wicked *Apostata*, did; the Lord of Heaven give us *patience* to indure it. 4.

How they persecute the Bishops and the best of the Clergy.

and ſuffer us not for *feare* of any villanie, or calamity, to be *dejected*, and ſo fall away from his *truth*.

5. 5. They have *called* and continued an *Aſſembly*, which the *Pope* would not doe without the *Emperours* leave, contrary to the *Kings* command; which is a meere and mighty *uſurpation* of the *Regall* right.

6. 6. They have ſeized upon the Kings *Revennes*, Caſtles, Forts, Townes, Ships, and *all* that they could lay hand on, and doe in a *hoſtile* manner with all *violence*, detaine them from him, but what he gaines by his *ſword*, to this very day.

7. 7. They have *fought* againſt him, *ſhot* at his ſacred Perſon, and ſought moſt *Barbarouſly* to kill him, under the colour to *preſerve* him; which is the fineſt piece of *Logicke* that ever was read.

8. 8. They have *rayled* at him; *ſlandered* him, and moſt apparently and falſly *belyed* him, and laid to his *charge* the things which we his Majeſties Subjects and Servants that *attend* Him doe *know*, that He neither *did*, nor *knew*.

9. 9. They *incouraged* and countenanced their *ignorant* brazen-faced Chaplains moſt *uncivilly* to rayle at Gods Annointed in the Pulpit; and ſo they brought the *abhomination*, not of deſolation, but of moſt *horrible* tranſgreſſion into the holy place, and made *Moſes* chaire the *ſeat* of raylers.

10. 10. They *taxe* the Subjects at their *pleaſure*, and have raiſed infinite *ſummes* of money, and no man but themſelves knowes *how* they have diſpoſed, or *what* they have done therewith.

11. 11. They diſcharged *Apprentices*, they ſend out their *Warrants* and their Edicts, *without* and *againſt* the Kings authority, which are but *nuga*, and the *minims* of their doings.

12. 12. They averre that the King hath no *negative* voyce in making Lawes, but they may *conclude* them and make them *obligatory* without the Kings approbation or ratification; and that they may doe *any* thing conducible to the *good* of the Church and Common-wealth, any Law, Statute, or proviſion made to the contrary notwithſtanding.

13. What they ſay of their Covenants

13. 13. They are not aſhamed to *teach* (as they doe practice) that it is lawfull for them to make *Covenants*, Combinations and

and Confederacies of mutuall *defence* and *offence* against any person whatsoever, whom themselves judge *malignant*, not excepting the *King* himselfe; and they say, that it were *better* for them to renounce their *Baptisme*, then to forsake their *Covenant*, which they believe will be more *advantageous* to the Kingdome, then all the *Priviledges* that are granted in *Magna Charta*, or the *Statutes* that have beene made ever since.

14. They jeered at the Kings *Proclamations*, trampled his *Declarations* under feet, and incountred the same with *rebellious* Protestations. 14.

15. They perswade the people to give no *eare* to any discourse of *Accommodation*, or conclusion for any peace; and say, that the King is not to be *trusted*; that he will performe no *promise* that he maketh, either in his *Proclamations* or *Declarations*; and therefore that the Kings *Pardons* may be likened to a buckler of *glasse*, or a staffe of *reede*, on which there is no *trust*, no committing themselves to the *defence* of any such pardon. So we may say with the Poet, 15. To what they likened the Kings pardons.

Nos juvat alma quies, gens hæc fera bella minatur;
Et quoties pacem poscimus, arma crepat.

16. They teach the Doctrine of *coercion*, dedignifying, degrading, and decapitating of *Kings*, when they deeme them *unworthy* of that dignity; and their arguments and reasons they collect and produce out of *Dolman. Bellarm. Suarez*, and the Magazine of the most rigid Jesuites. 16. Whence they learned their Divinity.

17. They have so *barbarously*, so irreverently, and so prophanely abused our *Service-Booke*, that it would *loath* your *eares* to heare, and transcend modesty to tell you how they have *dealt* with it; and they threatned, that if the *Ministers* would *read* it, they should never read booke againe. 17.

18. They doe agree with the *worst* of Papists, the *Jesuites*, in a great *many* of the worst points of doctrine that they teach; and yet being not well *able* to understand their tenets, they hate *Papists* so much, that they would *root* them out of their very being; they would destroy all the *Irish* that are Papists, and drive all *Papists* out of *England*, out of the *world*, that the name 18. How contrary to Christs doctrine, Matth. 13. 29. they would root out all Papists.

name of *Papists* should be no more in *remembrance*; and contrary to all *reason*, *divinity*, and *humanity*, they would *force* and compell every man to professe the *religion* that they are of, though some of them (as their *independents*) as farre on the *other* side, would have every man to have liberty to professe what religion himselfe liketh best.

19. 19. They have most *ingratefully* and *disloyally* injured a most loving *wife*, and their owne most gracious Queene, for shewing Her love, and discharging Her duty to Her husband: They have *imprisoned* and barbarously used some of the Nobility, *most* of the Clergy, and *abundance* of the Gentry, and *others* of the best account of the common Subjects of this Kingdome; they have *plundered* and robbed many thousands of men; they have *killed* and murdered as many; they have made our *Cities* dens of theeves, our *Churches* prisons, and all the Land *Acheldama's*, fields of bloud; they multiplyed the number of *Widowes*, *Orphanes*, and *Theeves* without number throughout the Land, and they filled the *whole* Kingdome with *miseries*, lamentations, and woes; and they have done so many *mischiefes*, as, if I should set them all downe, would fill up *another* volume: And

How they have wronged the Queene, the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, and Commons of this Land.

20. 20. As if all this were not *enough*, to fill up the *measure* of their iniquity, they spared neither *paines* nor cost to call in the *Scots* to assist them, to *perpetuate* the warre, to fill our Kingdome with *strangers*, and to make our calamities *everlasting*: so they fell from evill to *worse*, from discontent to *schisme*, from schisme to *open* rebellion, and their rebellion more *wicked* then any *rebels* that we can reade of in any Historie; which is the *just* judgement of God upon them, that they which *rebelliously* runne out of the communion of Gods *Church*, should most *desperately* runne out of their owne wits; and refusing to be guarded by the *heavenly* Angels, should give themselves to be guided by the *infernall* Devils; which made a *merrie* fellow, at the enumeration of their abhominable and indeed innumerable wickednesses, to say, Hell was never *better* then it is now, because he thought the *Devils* were all in *London*, or otherwise it were impossible that the *Citizens* which have received

How they laboured to call in the *Scots*.

The speech of a merrie companion.

ceived so *many* gracious offers of pardons from His Majestie, and promises of *other* favours, should still continue so *wicked* as they are, so *gulled* and seduced by this Parliament *faction*, that *non suadebit, etiamsi persuaserit*; because, as S. *Augustine* saith, *impia mens nolit intellectum*, and they love to *cozen* and cheat their owne soules by *new* painting these *old* sinnes, and calling their faction *faith*, their madnesse *zeale*, and their *horrid* rebellion fighting for *religion*; but as the Poet saith,

——Non tanti est civilia bella movere.

Whatsoever *pretences* move them to it, this *remedy* will increase their *miseries*; for, if God be no more *merciful* to us then their *sin* deserves, it may end here in an *universall* destruction, and hereafter in their *eternall* damnation: for doth not all the *world* see how God scourgeth us with the rod of our owne *furious* madnesse, and like as it befell the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, that fighting against the *Israelites*, did helpe to destroy *one another*; so we, striving not against *Israel*, but as we pretend, both against the *Edomites*, against *falshood*, do utterly destroy *our selves*: 2. Chron. 20. 23.

Exemploque pari ruit Anglica turba, suoque
Marte cadunt cæsi per mutua vulnera fratres.

And we that did keepe our enemies in awe shall be now destroyed by the sonnes of our owne mother; but I confesse our Land *abounds* with sinnes, and our sinnes have *justly* deserved this *heavy* punishment to light upon us; yet I beseech our God to *chastise* us with his *owne* hands, and let us not fall under the swords of the *uncircumcised* Philistines, that are a people *much more* wicked then our selves; and if he will let our soules *live*, we shall praise his name.

21. When they had most *fraudulently* gotten His Majestie to passe an *Act* (which though *really* intended, yet to many men seemes a very *strange* Act) to referre the managing of the affaires of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*, then they tooke that course to root out all the *Papists, Irish, English, British*, and indeed all the *inhabitants* of *Ireland*, except their own brotherhood, (for they could have soone discried the *marke* of the beast in all the rest) which they thought would be most *effectuall* How they intended to get all *Ireland* to themselves.

effectuall to further their *designe*, and to bring the whole Kingdome of *Ireland* to be inherited by their owne *faction*; that is, to *sell* all the lands of the *Rebels* to themselves, (for they knew *none* else would buy it at that *time*, & in that *manner* as they determined) and when they had *thus* locked the doore, and stopped the way of all *relieſe* unto the *diſtreſſed* Proteſtants of that Kingdome, they might ſing,

Dimidium toti qui bene cœpit habet;

For they had ſetled *Scotland*, and they had now graſped *Ireland*, and held it faſt in *Vulcans* net; and therefore *now* it might ſtay, till they could reduce *England* (to make a perfect worke in all the three Kingdomes) to the *ſame* forme of government both in Church and State, as they *projected* for the other; and becauſe they would have *ſome* places of entrance into *Ireland*, and hinder the Rebels to poſſeſſe the whole Kingdome, and alſo *blind* the eyes of the ignorant, not to perceive their *plot*, but to keepe them ſtill in ſome *hope* of redreſſe, they ſent *ſuch* a party over (and the *Scots* muſt be the moſt conſiderable part) as might keepe their owne *deſigne* on foot, and yet yeild not an *inch* of any comfort to the *ſpoyled* and expelled Proteſtant; for they left that *party* which they ſent thither, rather as a *prey* to their enemies, (as having neither cloathes, meat, nor money) then *inabled* by theſe acoutrements to ſubdue the Rebels; as it is *better* and more fully declared by the *Letter* of the State of *Ireland* to the Houſe of *Commons*, then I can relate unto you.

How they blinded the people by their proceedings.

And I being in *Ireland*, ſeeing the *deplorable* ſtate of that Kingdome, the miſerable *diſtreſſe* of the mangled, ſterved, and naked Proteſtants, the little *children* calling and crying for *bread*, and none to give it them; many *worthy* Miniſters beging, or dying for want in the ſtreets, and the poore *bare-footed* and hunger-bitten Souldier lamenting his hard fortune, to be tranſplanted out of Gods *bleſſing* into the *warme* ſunne; from *plenty* and proſperity, to be left as the traveller betwixt *Hieruſalem* and *Hierico*, halfe dead, betwixt *mercileſſe* rebels and more *unmercifull* friends; neither *wholly* to be deſtroyed, nor yet to be *relieved*, was much *troubled* and perplexed at theſe *ſad* aſpects; and being *intruſted* by the *Biſhops* my Brethren of

What the Author ſaw in *Ireland*.

that

that Kingdome, to *agitate* the cause of the *Church* for our relieſe here in *England*; and to that end having a Letter unto His *Majeſtie*, and a Remonſtrance of our *diſtreſſed* condition, though with the great *hazard* of my life at Sea, yet I arrived by Gods *great* bleſſing in *England*, and before I had beene two dayes at home, my *houſe* was ſurrounded with a *Troope* of Armed Souldies, they *entred* in, *ſeized* upon my perſon, *ſearched* every roome and every *corner* with a candle, not leaving the *bed-ſtraw* whereon my children lay unſearched; they tooke all my *papers* and all the *money* they found in my houſe, (even my *ſervants* money) to the ſumme of 40l, and carryed all with me their poore *Priſoner* to *Northampton*; and now I thought it was but an ill *exchange*, to eſcape the *Sea*, and to fall into the *fire*; to ſhun the *Lion*, and to meet a *Beare*; to eſchew the Rebels in *Ireland*, and to fall into the hands of Traytors in *England*; and I knew not *why*, but onely that I had often preached at *Towceſter*, (where being requeſted by Maſter *Lockwood* to ſupply the place, the *preciſe* Church-wardens very *peremptorily* told me I ſhould not doe it, becauſe I was a *royaliſt*, and ſpake againſt the Parliament; to whom I replyed, that he had no ſuch *authority* to hinder a Biſhop to Preach, and bade him look to mend his *glaſſe-windowes*, that were all full of *holes*, where the *faces* of the pictures were plucked out) and in *other* Churches thereabouts, that they ſhould ſo *honour* and obey their King, as God *commandeth* us; for which *refuſall* to be admoniſhed, I beleeve they are now (and perhaps will be more) hereafter ſufficiently puniſhed.

How uſed as ſoone as ever he came to his houſe.

How a preciſe Churchwarden would have hindered a Biſhop to preach.

But the *Committee* there finding in me no *cauſe* worthy of death or of bonds, (Gods providence ſo *mercifully* watching over me, that it ſtopped their *eyes*, that they looked not on my *Grand Rebellion*, which they had in their hands, and would no doubt have *utterly* undone me, had they but eſpied the *Capitall* title) that I was diſmiſſed, and I confeſſe *courteouſly* uſed by Sir *John Norwich*.

Then afterwards when time ſerved I repaired to His *Majeſtie*, and having delivered my Letters, I ſpake to Him and drew a *Petition*, (and I thinke I was the *firſt* that petitioned in this kinde, I doe not *repent* it, neither am I *aſhamed* to confeſſe it) and got ſome *hands* unto it, (as that *worthy* and *noble* Gentleman Colonell

Oneale can beare witneſſe, the *ſumme* whereof was, that, the *Parliament* having *betrayed* the truſt that was repoſed in them, wholly *deſerted* our reliefe, and giving us none *other* comfort then what
c12.p.24. I expreſſed in my *Diſcovery of Myſteries*, his Majeſtie would be pleaſed to *conſider*, that we were his *Loyall* Subjects, and that the *care* of us was committed by God to *him*, not to his *Parliament*, who had left us in a *worſe* condition then the Rebels had made us: and therefore, as he *juſtly* required our *faith* and alleageance, ſo we *humbly* beſought him, that he would *graciouſly* vouchſafe unto us his princely *care* & aſſiſtance, ſome waies to *relieve* us, otherwiſe then by leaving us ſtill in *their* hands, till we and our families, in the *languiſhing* expectation of our redreſſe, ſhould *finally* and irrecoverably periſh, while theſe *crafty* Merchants, thus *bought* and ſold us, and under the pretence of *reformation* uſed all their endeavours to bring both Kingdomes to *deſtruction*.

CHAP. XIX.

Sheweth how the Rebellious faction have tranſgreſſed all the ten Commandements of the Law, and the new Commandement of the Goſpell; how they have committed the ſeven deadly ſinnes; and the foure crying ſinnes; and the three moſt deſtructive ſins to the ſoule of man; and how their Ordinances are made againſt all lawes, equity and conſcience.

1. They adore and put their truſt in that creature. *Pſ.74.v.4.7.8.* ἀλλὰς ὃ τὶ πίστευσας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ἡγεμόνων? *Quis tibi in mentem dolorem impoſuit ut hac perfidia magni Dei oreques relicta?*

22 THey have, in no *ſmall* meaſure, tranſgreſſed *all* the commandements of God, the ten commandements of the *law*, and the *new* commandement of the *Goſpell*. for

1. The factions Rebels have *other* gods beſides the God of *Iſrael*, when they adore the *creatures*, and aſcribe the *incommunicable* attributes of the *creator* unto their *Parliament*, by calling it *omnipotent*, infallible, invincible, and moſt bleſſed Parliament, as *ſome* of them have moſt *blaſphemouſly* termed it; for which *blaſphemies*, no doubt, but as we by their *Declarations* and Ordinances know they are not *infallible*, ſo God, I feare me, by their *deſtruction*

struction will shew they are neither *blessed* nor invincible.

2. They not *onely* make an *idoll* of their Parliament, but are so *farre* from making to themselves any *graven* image, that they destroy all *images*, and are just such as the Prophet *David* speakes of, *which have done evill in Gods Sanctuary, and have broken downe all the carved worke thereof with axes and hammers*, that have *set fire upon his holy places*, and *have defiled the dwelling place* of Gods *name*, even *unto the ground*: for it is almost *incredible* how barbarously, worse then any *Turkes* or *Jewes*, they have broken down those *rare* and sweet instruments of *Musick*, the *Organs* of our Churches, and have defaced those *excellent* pieces of worke, that, to the *honour* of God, were made and set up in the *windowes* of our Churches in *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Lincolne* and the other Cathedrals, by the *best Artists* in Christendome: which is a most *horrible* fact, no wayes commanded in this precept, and an *irreparable* losse to us and our posterity; and therefore the Prophet *David* calleth these defacers of such *carved* and painted workes, set up in his house, the *adversaryes* and *enemies* of God, vers. 4, and 5. & vers. 11. *foolish* people, vers. 19, and 23. the *haters* of God, vers. 24. and the *blasphemers* of his name, vers. 11. for none but *such* would have done such *Prophanations* as is done in Gods house: but let them take *heed* lest the Prophets *prayer* should light upon them, *lift up thy feete O God that thou mayest utterly destroy every one of these enemies, which hath done this evill in thy Sanctuary.*

a. How they have abused Gods house:

3. For *swearing* not *vainely* but *falsly*, most wickedly, and *forswearing* themselves over and over, againe and againe, and having more *dispensations* and absolutions for their perjuries by their *holy* Prophets then ever the *Popes* gave for adulteries, it is *incredible* to thinke, and *impossible* to number the *heads* of these transgressions; and therefore if you *beleive* that God was in *earnest* when he gave this precept, you may be assured he will not hold them *guiltlesse* that are such transgressors of it.

Ps 74. v. 4.

3. How they forswear themselves; Διὰ ἐπορκῶν καὶ ψεύδη λαλοῦντες. *Menand. perjurium est, aequiter decipere credentem.* Aug.

4. For the *day* wherein we should *serve* our God in his Church most *reverently*, some of them worship him more *unmannerly*, then some of those *blinde* Indians, that worship the *Devill* himselfe, and others of them *muster* their men, *plunder* their neighbours

4 How they prophaned the Sabboth.

bours, and *murder* their brethren, which they beleive to be the *best* way to sanctify the Sabbath: and for which *resting* from their worke, thus *religiously* to serve the Lord, let them take heed, lest God should *sweare* in his wrath, that *they shall never enter into his rest.*

5. How they curse their Fathers and Mothers.

5. They *curse* their *Father* and their *Mother* that their dayes may be *long* in the Land, which their *pretended* Parliament hath promised to give them; for the *King* is the Prince and *Principall* Father of us all; and the Prophet saith of such men, *they shall curse their King and their God*; and the *Bishops* are their *Fathers* too, and they have *cursed* them, long agone; and I feare they will not *cease* to curse them, till their curses fall upon their owne heads: and for all other *bonds* of duty, and relations of *Wives* unto their Husbands; *Children* unto their Parents; *Servants* unto their Masters: they are Preached asunder, to make way for the *liberty* of the Subject, to Rebell by *authority* against his Soveraigne.

Esay 8. 21.

6. How many they have murdered.

6. Whereas God saith, *thou shalt doe no murder*, they gave that *first* commission, though they had not the *least* colour of any *authority* to give it, to *kill*, *slay* and *destroy*; and it is most *lamentable* to consider, how many *thousands* they have *murdered*, and how they are thought worthy of the *greatest* honour and the *best* reward, that have killed most of Gods *faithfull* servants, and the Kings *loyall* Subjects.

1. How they loosened the reins to all lust.

Ab fonte deri. vata clades in patriam populumque fluxit. Herat. car. l. 3.

7. For *adulteries*, Fornications and all Uncleanesse, they may now *freely* doe it, lust may flow like the *river*, whose bankes are broken downe, when they have overthrowen those courts of *Justice*, and were never at *rest* till they had most violently suppressed the *power* and execution of all *Ecclesiasticall* censures, that were the *chiefest* barres and hinderances of these unlawfull lusts.

2. How they are like *Argivi fures.*

ὁ πολλὰ κλέπτας, οὐδὲν ἧττον δῆτα, ἁρπάζει.

8. For *stealing*, they have changed the *name* but not the *nature* of it: for under the pretence of *preserving* to us the *propriety* of our goods, they have not *stollen*, but *plundered* away, that is *robbed* us of all our goods, and carried them into those *Rebellious* Townes, that are now the *dens of these theeves*, and are stronger in their wickednesse then the *hils* of the robbers: and that which makes this sinne *most* sinfull, is, that it is *established by a Law.*

Ps. 94. 12.

9. They

9. They have justified the *Cretans*, and proved themselves the right *bastard* sonnes of the father of lyes, filling *all* and every corner of this Kingdome with *palpable*, intolerable, and incredible *lyes*, slanders, and false witnesse-bearing against *God*, against his *Annointed*, against the *Church*, and against all the *reverend* governours of the Church, all *religious* Protestants, and all the *loyall* Subjects of this Nation, that the Angels doe now *blush*, and the Devils doe *laugh* and rejoyce, to see they are so *fruitfull* in begetting so many children so *perfectly* formed, and so *compleatly* perfected in their owne *image* and likenesse; and if ever the saying of *Gildas* was true, they have proved it now: *Moris continui gentis erat, sicut & nunc est, ut infirma esset ad retundenda hostium tela, & fortis ad civilia bella: infirma, inquam; ad exequenda pacis ac veritatis insignia, & fortis ad scelera & mendacia.*

9. How they belyed all sorts of good men. *Quemadmodum Deus pater genuit filium veritatem nempe, sic diabolus lapsus genuit quasi filium mendacii. Aug. super Joh.* Habac. 2. 9. *Gildas de excidio Britan.*

10. They *have coveted an evill covetousnesse*, when they coveted *all* evill *unto themselves*; not onely their neighbours *houses*, goods, and lands, and all that are theirs, but also the patrimonie of the *Church*, the revenues of the *Clergy*, and all the *rights* and prerogatives of the *King*, to be intayled upon themselves and their faction, that so they and theirs might be both *Kings*, and *Priests*, and all, not to God, but to themselves and their fellow Rebels in the *government* of this Kingdome.

10. The extent of their covetousnesse.

And as they have thus transgressed all the *old* Commandements of the *Law*, so they come no wayes *short* in transgressing the *new* Commandement of the *Gospell*: for their *love* to their brethren is now turned to *perfect* hatred, when they say not with *Cain*, *am I my brothers keeper?* but with *Apollyon*, I will be the *destroyer* of my brethren; neither will I *sell* them, as the brethren of *Joseph* did him unto the *Egyptians*, but I will *send* them if I can possible quicke to hell; let those *Loyall* subjects, that have beene unexpectedly *murdered*, and those *many* many thousands, that have beene *plundered* of all their Estates, testifie to the world the *love* of these men unto their brethren, who have felt *more* cruelty and barbarity and lesse charity from these *holy* Saints, then could be expected from *Jewes*, Turkes and Pagans.

How they transgressed the new Commandement of the Gospell. Gen. 4. 9.

23. Though

23. How they have committed the 7 deadly sins. Rom. 6. 23.

23. Though *every* sinne deserves the *wrath* of God, as the Apostle saith in generall, *the reward of sinne is death*, be it *little* or be it *great*; yet because some sinnes do more *provoke* the wrath of God, & do *sooner* produce this *deadly* fruit then other sinnes; the *Divines* have observed 7 *speciall* sinnes, which they terme the 7 *deadly* sinnes: and these also you may finde committed in the *highest* degree by these *factious* Rebels: For

1. Their *Pride.* *Quid juvat ô homines tanto turgescere fastu? Num ut ait Comicus, ἀλαζονείας ἕνεκα ἐπιδέξεως δεῖται.*

1. *Pride*, which is an *high* conceit of a mans owne worth, farre beyond his *just* deserts, and therefore, beleiving himselfe to be *inferiour* to none, scornes to be *subject* unto any, is the *Father* that produceth, and the *nurse* that cherisheth all rebellion: and our *Parliamentary faction*, together with the *Assembly* of their Divines, thinking themselves *holyer* then the Saints, and *wiser* then their Brethren, have therefore made this *unnaturall* warre to *destroy* us all, because we will not *subscribe* with them to destroy both *Church* and *State*: this is the *fruit* of pride, but the *punishment* is, to be resisted by God, who throweth *damnation* upon their heads, because they resist the *ordinance* of God.

2. Their *Covetousnesse.* *Sacrilegia minuta puniuntur, magna jam in triumphis feruntur. Senec. ep. 87.*

2. *Pride* cannot subsist without *meanes*, therefore *covetousnesse* must support it; and I shewed you before how *covetous* these rebels are, not of any *good*, but of our *goods*, and of our *lives*, that they may enjoy our *lands*, even the lands of the *Church*, that *they may take the houses of God in possession*: which may prove to them like *Aurum Tholosanum*, or as *Midas* gold, that was the destruction of that *covetous* wretch.

3. Their *Luxury.* *Certa quidem tantis causa est manifesta ruinis, Luxuria nimium libera facta via est. Propert. eleg. 11. l. 3.*

3. Their *luxury* and lust must needs proceed from *fulnesse* and pride: and I beleeve it is not unknowne to *many* how these *Rebels* spend their time in *revelling* and feasting, *chambering* and wantonnesse, which though never so *secretly* done by them in the *night*, yet are they *publiquely* seene in the *day*, and seene to their *shame*, if they could be *ashamed* of any thing.

4. Their *Envy.*

4. How *envy* hath possest their soules, it is almost beyond all *sence* to consider it; they *envy* that any man should be *King* and themselves *Subjects*, that any man should be a *Bishop* and themselves *Priests*, or that any man should be *rich* and themselves not so *wealthy*; therefore they will needs *pull* downe what themselves cannot *reach* unto.

5. If

5. If *Epicurus* were now living, or *Sardanapalus* came to these mens feasts, they might thinke themselves the *teachers* of sobriety, and the masters of *abstinency*, in comparison of these new *gulists*, who make a *God* of their bellies, and fare deliciously every day, that they can get it, more *deliciously* then *Dives*; it is *incredible* to consider what they devoure in delicates, and how the *Sisters* teachers eat more *good* meat, and drinke *better* wines then the gravest Bishops. 5. Their *Gluttony* and drunkennesse.

6. They are, as the *Psalmist* saith, *wrathfully displeased at us*, and I know not whether their *envy* at our happinesse, or their *wrath* and anger that we doe live, is the *greater*; yet thankes be to God, 6. Their *wrath* and malice.

Vivere nos dicet, salvos tamen esse negamus.

And God I hope will *preserve* us still, notwithstanding all their *malice*.

7. For their *sloath*, I was a while musing how these *factious* rebels could any wayes be guilty of this *lazie* sinne; for, as the Devill is never at *rest*, but goeth about *continually* like *a roaring Lion*, *seeking whom he may devoure*; and he saith, *Job.* 1. he *compasseth the earth to and fro*: so these children of this world, being *wiser in their generation then the children of light*, are as *diligent* as their father, *they imagine mischiefe upon their beds*, and are a great deale more *watchfull*, and more *painefull* to doe evill, to serve the Devill, to goe to Hell, then the *faithfull* servants of God are to goe to Heaven; witnesse all the *victories* and successes that they had by this warre, in the *night*, not by any *manhood*, but by taking the Kings Souldiers *careless* in their beds: yet, notwithstanding all this *diligence* to doe wickednesse, they are as *lazie* as any *sluggard*, and as slow as the *snayle* to any goodnesse: they are *asleepe* in evill, and are *dead in trespasses and sinnes*, and cannot be awakened to any service of God. 7. Their *Sloth*. οἱ υἱοὶ τῦ αἰῶνος τέτε φρονιμώτεροι ὑπὲρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῦ φωτός. Luke 16. 8.

24. The Scripture maketh mention of foure *crying* sinnes that doe continually cry to God for *vengeance* against the sinners; 24. How they have grievously committed the foure crying sinnes,

Clamitat ad cœlum vox sanguinis, & Sodomorum,
Vox oppressorum, merces retenta laborum.

And they are not free from any of these. For

1. How they have shed abundance of innocent bloud.

1. As the *Psalmist* speaketh, *Psal.* 79. 2, 3. so they have done; and the *streames* of bloud, that, since the beginning of this unnaturall warre, they have most *unjustly* caused to be spilt, and doe flow like the *rivers* of waters over the face of this *now* unhappy Land, doe with *Abels* bloud *continually* cry against them, and cannot *chuse* but pull downe *vengeance* upon their heads, when God shall come *to make inquisition for bloud*; and therefore though *Pacem non poscimus omnes*; we all cry for *peace*, and the Kings *clemency* still proclaimeth pardon; yet seeing it is God that *maketh warres to cease*, and the Prophet saith, how can the sword be *quiet*, seeing the *Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkelon?* Jer. 47. 7. as the *bloody* sinne of *Saul* upon the poore *Gibeonites*, never left *crying* for vengeance, untill it was expiated by *bloud*, even by the bloud of seven of his sonnes; so I feare me the *much* bloud that these rebels spilt, and the bloud of so many *innocents* that they caused to be slain, can never be *expiated*; and the wrath of God appeased, untill an attonement be made by bloud, even a *judiciarie* sentence of death against some of the head rebels; for it is the *voyce* of God, that *whosoever sheddeth mans bloud*; that is, without *due* authority, by *man shall his bloud be shed*, that is, by the *due* course of Law, and the power of the Magistrate, that *beareth not the sword in vaine*; but is bound to punish *murders*, and the *unlawfull* putting of innocents to death, with the sentence of a *just* death.

Psal. 9. 12.

Ob. If you say, Why may not *this* rebellion be concluded with the *like* peace, by a *generall* pardon, as the other in *Ireland* is like to be?

Sol. I answer, the case is not *alike*; because *they* had some *shew* of reason, and were provoked by the *faction* and emissaries of this Parliament; but our *rebels* had not the *least* colourable cause, nor were provoked by *any*, but their owne *bloody* desire to root out Gods service and servants, when they had *almost* all things that they desired. I am sure more then *should* have beene granted unto them; and therefore in *these* and in many *other* respects that I could, but am ashamed to set downe, I deeme this

rebellion

rebellion of our *English*, and the *invasion* of the *Scots*, ten times more odious, then the *insurrection* of the *Irish*.

2. The iniquity of *Sodome* was *Pride, fulnesse of bread, abundance of idlenesse, and contempt of the poore*; and I have already shewed how all these doe rule and raigne in them. Ezech. 16. 49. 2. The sinnes of *Sodom* among them.

3. For *oppression*, let their *ordinances* to take away our goods, without any colour of *justice*, and their *actions*, to make good their ordinances, to take away our *liuers*, and deprive us of our *liberties*, be well examined, and the world shall then see whether they be *oppressors*, or I a transgressor for affirming it. 3. Their oppression.

4. For retaining of *Wages*, letting passe their *Souldiers* that deserve not pay, for fighting so *disloyally* against their King, and transgressing so *wickedly* the Commandement of God, which so *precisely* biddeth them *to honour the King*, I would faine know by what *authority*, or law, excepting their owne *lawlesse* Ordinances, have they *detained* and alienated the *wages*, meanes, and maintenance of those faithfull *Pastors*, whom they sent away, and caused them to *fly* and wander like *Pilgrims*, from place to place, without any meanes of subsistence? O let them never thinke that these things can be *buried* in oblivion, but that the *sighes* and groanes of those *faithfull* servants of Christ doe *continually* cry, and cry *aloud* in the eares of God for *vengeance* to be powred downe upon the *heads* of these their persecutors, which cannot escape, *Cum surrexerit ad judicandum Deus*. 4. The detaining of the wages of Gods servants.

35. As there be three *Theologicall graces* that build up and compleat a Christian soule, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*; so there be three maine *vices* that do *poyson* and kill every soule, *Infidelity*, *Presumption*, *Philauty*; and three others that are *destructive* to all Christianity, *Prophanenesse*, *Impudency*, and *Sacriledge*: The time will not give me leave to tell you how they are *chayned* about with these *linkes* of sinne, and how indeed they are, as the Apostle saith, *filled with all unrighteousnesse*. The workes that they doe can sufficiently testifie what they are. God *forgive* them the evill that they have done, and give them *grace* to repent in *time*, that they may not perish *everlastingly*, Amen. 35. How they are filled with the most destructive sinnes against their soules. And if I should parallel the wickednesses of this pretended Parliament with the *Sicilian* Vespers, the Massacre of *Paris*, and the Gun-powder Treason, it would exceed them all.

2. The wicked Ordinances of the pretended Parliament.

2. Having treated a little of the wicked *practices* and abominable *actions* of the Puritane *Faction* of this Parliament; I should, according as *I intended*, set downe some of their *unjust*, impious, and diabolicall *Ordinances*; which I finde to be so *many* as would fill up a whole *Volume*, and the *poyson* of their wickednesse having *swelled* my Booke to such a bulke already, I must therefore, crave leave, to *transmit* the displaying of these dismall *tragedies* to some other scene; onely I must *remember*, which I beleeve will never be *forgotten*, while any *wickednesse* can be remembred; and that is,

1. Their bloudy Ordinance.

1. Their bloudy Ordinance to *kill and slay*, while we were all in *peace*, and all praying for the Houses of Parliament.

2. Their sacrilegious ordinance.

2. Their *sacrilegious* Ordinance of taking away not the *twentieth part*, nor the *tenth*, nor yet nine parts of ten, but *all* and every part of the goods and revenues of the *Bishops*, *Deanes*, and *Prebends*; and let them *now*, in their *old age*, after they have wasted their *strength*, and consumed their *years* with *toylesome* labours and *indefatigable* paines, in the Church of God, to *save* their soules, either *digge* for bread, or *begge* for almes, or like out-worne *jades*, die in a ditch; their *care* for these men was to leave them not *one* penny to *relieve* themselves while they lived; and I believe the prophanest *Pagan*, (it may be) the *Devill* himselfe, could not shew *greater* malice, or inflict a *severer* censure upon *the* Clergy, then these *zealous* Christians have ordained; because such a *miserable* life must needs prove far worse then a *glorious* death, when as *Jeremiah* saith, *they that did feed delicately, must stand desolate in the streets, and they that were brought up in scarlet, must embrace dunghills; they must sigh and seeke their bread, and give their pleasant things for meate to releeve their soules.*

Jerem. Lament. 4. 5. &c. 131.

3. Their unrighteous ordinances.

3. Their *unrighteous* Ordinance, and ordinances, to take away *what* part they pleased of their neighbours goods, and *all* from them whom they deemed *Malignants*; and I had almost said, that God himselfe, which is *Lord* of all, could not more *justly* take them, then these men have *unjustly* decreed to take them from us.

4. Their

4. Their *impious*, odious and abominable Ordinance, to compell men by *Oathes* and *Covenants* to give themselves unto the *Devill*, and to go to *Hell* in despight of their teeth; and that which makes me wonder *most* of all is, that their *Synod* or Assembly hath prefixed an *exhortation* to perswade sillie soules to take that *wicked* Covenant; and to cast a *mist* before their eyes, that they may not onely *let downe* little *gnats*, but also *swallow* this great *camell*, they would justifie the doing thereof by a twofold example.

4. Their impious ordinance.

The first of the *Jewes* in *Ezra*'s time, that made a *Covenant* to serve the *Lord*, and to put away their strange *Wives*, according to the law.

Ezra. 10. 5. & 8. Nehem. 9. 38. 10. 1.

The second of *Christians*, and indeed of *most* christian Kings and Princes, that is, of Queene *Elizabeth*'s assisting the *Hollanders* against the King of *Spaine*, and of King *Charles* assisting the *Rochellers* against the King of *France*.

To *both* which examples, and *all* other things that are contained either in the *Covenant* it selfe, or the *exhortation* of the Assembly thereunto annexed, I doe understand, there shall be a *full* and a *perfect* answer made by one that hath undertaken the same *ex professo*; yet give me leave in the *interim* to say this much,

First, touching *Covenants* and Vowes, it is plaine enough, that although the *superiour* may with *Ezra* cause the inferior to *Vow* or sweare the performance of his *duty*, that he is bound by the law of God and nature to performe; so *Abraham* caused his servant to sweare *fidelity*, when he sent him for *Isaack*'s Wife. And so the King may cause his *Subjects* to take the Oath of their *Allegeance*; and the lawfull *General* cause his Soldiers to sweare their *fidelity* unto him; yet the *inferior* subject *can* not sweare, or if he sweares he *ought* not to observe it, when he doth it *contrary* to the command of him, that hath command over him; as you may see in *Numb.* 30. throughout. —— Therefore, as *children* may not vow any thing, though it be never so *lawfull*, contrary to their *fathers* command, or if they doe, they ought not to keepe it; so no more may any *Subject* Vow, or make a Covenant, contrary to

1. What Vowes and Covenants are allowable.

Gen. 24. 3.

Numb. 30. *per totum.*

their

their *Kings* command; or if they doe, they ought not to obserue it, and they are, as you see, *absolued* by God himselfe.

Ob. Sol.

If you say *Ezra* and the *Iewes* did it, *contrary* to the command of *Artaxerxes*, that was then *their* King; I answer, that it is most false; for,

1. *Ezra* was the Priest, *Nehem.* 8. 2. & 9. and the *chiefe* Prince, that was then over them, and *Nehemiah* had his authority from the King, and he was the *Tirshatha*, that is, their governour, saith the Text, *Nehem.* 10. 1. and therefore they might *lawfully* cause them to take that Covenant.

1.

2. They had the *leave*, and a large *commission* from *Artaxerxes* to doe all that they did; as you may see*; neither can you finde any sylleble that *Artaxerxes* forbad them to doe this in any place.

2.

* See Ezra. 7. 11. 12. &c.

3. This Covenant of *Ezra* and his people, and *Nehemiah's*, was to doe those things that they had covenanted *before* to doe, which God had *expressely* commanded them to doe, and which they could not *omit*, though they had not *covenanted* to doe it, without *great* offence; so if our *covenanters* sweare they will *serve* God, and be *loyall* unto their King, as they vowed in their *baptisme*, they shall never finde me to speake against them; but to propose a *lawfull* Covenant, to doe those things that God *commandeth*, and is made with the leave and *commission* of the *supreme* Prince, to justifie an *unlawfull* Covenant, to doe those things that were *never* done before, never *commanded* by God, but *forbidden* both by God, and especially by the *King*, in the *expresse*st termes and most *energeticall* manner that might be, is such a piece of *Divinity* as I never read the like, and such an argument, a *dissimili*, that never scholler produced the like.

3.

For so the text saith, *Let it be done according to the Law.* Ezra. 10. 3.

2. For the examples of Queen *Elizabeth* & King *Charles*, assisting Subjects for their Religion sake, against their *lawfull* Princes, two things may be said; the one in *Divinity*, the other in *Policy*,

2. The examples of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *Charles* answered.

1. By way of Divinity.

First, for *Divinity*, I say, *vivendum est præceptis, non exemplis*, we have the *sure word of God* to teach us, what we should doe, and no *examples*, unlesse they be either *commanded*

or

or *allowed* in Gods word, ought to be any *infallible* patterne for us to follow;

Secondly, for *Policy*, which may be justified to be without *iniquity*; I doubt not, but *those* men, which knew the *secrets* of State, and were privie to the *causes* of their actions, are able to *justifie* the proceedings of *these* Princes in their assistance, which perhaps they did not so much *simply* in respect of their Religion, as of some other *State* policie, which we, that are so farre from the *helme*, have no reason to *prie* unto; 2. By way of Policy.

Besides, you may know that neither King *Charles* nor Queen *Elizabeth* were Subjects to the *other* Kings, but were *every* way their *equall*, if not more, and *independent* Princes. And to bring the actions of such *absolute* Monarches, the one against the other, to justifie the actions of *Subjects* against their *Soveraigns*, is such *Logicke*, as the other example was *divinity*; Queen *Elizabeth* did so against the King of *Spaine*; *ergo*, any *Subject* may do so against his *King*; or rather Queen *Elizabeth* did that, which for ought we know, was most *lawfull* to be done against the King of *Spaine*; *ergo*, the Earle of *Essex* may doe that, which we doe know to be most *unlawfull* against King *Charles*: This is the *doctrine* that they teach their *Proselytes*, but that they give this *poyson* in a *golden* cup, and hide their *falshood* under a *shew* of truth; but I hope ere *long*, you shall have these things more *fully* manifested unto you. How wickedly they deceive the simple people.

CAP. XX.

Shewth, how the rebellious Faction forswore themselves; what trust is to be given to them; how we may recover our peace and prosperity, how they have unkinged the Lords annointed; and for whom they have exchanged him; and the conclusion of the whole.

AND now, having committed all these things, and much more wickednesse then I, though I had the tongue of Angells, can expresse, I am perswaded many of them, seeing the *miraculous* mercies of our God in *protecting* and assisting

His

His Majesty, farre beyond their thoughts and imaginations, doe begin to thinke on *peace* and accommodation, which they presuming on the Kings *lenity* made *sure* to themselves, whensoever they pleased; and indeed, *dulce nomen pacis*; and the *feet* of them that bring tydings of *peace*, are more specious then the faireſt *countenance* of *aurora*, then the sweet *face* of *Helen*; But seeing *righteousnesse and peace have kissed each other*, and the Apostle joyneth *grace* and *peace* alwayes together; as two deere friends saith S. *Aug.* so deere, that *si amicam pacis non amaveris neque te amabit pax ipsa*: and these men *are filled with all unrighteousnesse*, and have trampled the *grace* of God and their King under feet, and having *sworne*, & *forsworn* themselves over and over, as, at their *baptisme*, that they would keep Gods commandements, whereof this is one, to be *obedient* unto our Kings, at their *admittance* to any office to *beare faith and true allegiance* to His Majesty, at the beginning of this *last* Parliament, to maintaine the Kings *just rights* and all the *priviledges* of Parliament, together with the *liberty* and *property* of the Subjects; and yet *immediately* to forget their *faith*, to breake all these *oathes*, and to make shipwracke of their *conscience*, to drive the Bishops out of their *House*, which is one of the *first* and most *fundamentall* priviledges of the Parliament, they being the *first* of the three Estates of this Kingdome, to take away, not *some*, but *all* the Kings rights out of his hands, and to make him no King indeed, to take away all our *goods*, our *liberties*, and our *lives* at their pleasure, and then to assure the Devill they would be *faithfull* unto him, which were thus *faithlesse* unto God, to *sweare againe*, and make a solemne Covenant with Hell, they would *never* repent them of their wickednesse, but continue *constant* in his service, till they have rooted out whom they deemed to be Malignants; though the King, who is wise as the Angell of God, that hath the Kings *heart in his hand, and turneth it like the rivers of waters, where he pleaseth*, knoweth best what to doe, as God *directeth* him; yet for *mine* owne part, either in *peace*, or *warre*, I would never trust such faithlesse *perjured* creatures for a straw; and seeing that to spare *transcendent* wickednesse is to *increase* wickednesse, and to incourage

Esay 52. 7.

Psal. 85. 10.
Rom. 1. 7.
1 Cor. 3.
2 Cor. 2. &c.

Rom. 13. 1.
1 Pet. 2. 13.

How the Rebels swore and forswore themselves.

Holland and *Bedford* show'd what trust is to be given them.

Proverb. 21. 1.

No trust to be given to lyers and perjurers.
2 Sam. 20. 20, 16.

courage others to the *like* Rebellion, upon the like hope of pardon, if they fayled of their intention, if our great *Metropolis* of *London* partake not rather of the *wise* spirit of the men of *Abel*, then of the *obstinacy* of the men of *Gibeah*, and deliver not unto the King the *theefs* of those rebells that rose up against him, I feare that Gods *wrath* will not be turned away, but *his hand will be stretched out still*, untill he hath fulfilled his *determined* visitation upon this Land, and consummated all with their *deplorable* destruction, even as he did those obstinate men of *Gibeah* and *Benjamin*; for though the King, beyond the *clemency* of a man, and the *expectation* of any rebell, hath most *christianly* laboured, that they would *accept* of their pardon, and save *themselves* and their *posterity*; yet their *wickednesse*, (being so exceeding great, beyond all that I can finde in *any* history, rebellion it *selfe* being like the sinne of witchcraft, the rebellion of *Christians* farre worse, and a rebellion against a *most christian* pious Prince worst of all; and *such* a rebellion ingendered by *pride*, fostered by *lyes*, augmented by *perjury*, continued by *cruelty*, refusing all *clemencie*, despising all *piety*, and contemning *God* their Saviour, when they make him (with *reverence* be it spoken, which is so *irreverently* done by them) the very *pack-horse* to beare all their wickednesse, being a *degree* beyond *all* degrees of comparison,) hath so *provoked* the wrath of God against this Nation, that I feare his *justice* will not *suffer* their hearts, that can not *repent*, to accept and imbrace their owne *happinesse*, till they be *purged* with the floods of repentant *teares*, or destroyed with the streames of Gods fearfull *vengeance*; which I *heartily* beseech Almighty God may (by the grace of Christ, working true *repentance* in them for themselves, and reducing them to the *right* way) be averted from them. And the *best* way that I conceive to avert it, to *appease* Gods wrath, and to turne away his *judgements* from us, is, to returne back the same way as we proceeded hitherto; to make up the breaches of the *Church*, to restore the *Liturgie* and the *service* of our God to its former *purity*, to repeale that *Act*, which is made to the *prejudice* of the Bishops and Servants of God, that they may be reduced

Judg. 20.

How the King desired the good of the Rebels.

The unspeakeable greatnesse of their sins.

How we may recover the peace and prosperity of this land.

to

to their *priſtine* dignity, to recall all *Ordinances* that are made *contrary* to Law, and derogatory to the Kings *right*, and to be *heartily* ſorry that theſe *unjuſt* Acts and Ordinances were ever done, and *more* ſorry that they were not ſooner undone; and then God will turne his *face* towards us, he will *heale* the bleeding wounds of our land, and he will powre downe his *benefits* upon us; but till we doe theſe things, I doe *aſſure* my ſelfe, and (I *believe*) you ſhall find it, that his *wrath* ſhall not be turned away, but his *hand* will be ſtretched out *ſtill* and ſtill, untill we either *doe* theſe things, or be deſtroyed for *not* doing them.

King *Iames* his ſpeech made true by the Rebels.

Thus it is manifeſt to all the World, that as it was often ſpoken by our *ſharpe* and *right*-ſighted Soveraigne, King *Iames* of ever bleſſed memory, *no Biſhop no King*: ſo now (I hope) the dull-eyd *owle*, that lodgeth in the deſart, ſeeth it verified, by this Parliament; for they had no *ſooner* got out the *Biſhops*, but *preſently* they laid violent hands upon the Crowne, ſeized upon the Kings *Caſtles*, ſhut him out of all his *Townes*, diſpoſſeſt him of his owne *houſes*, tooke away all his *ſhips*, detayned all his *revenues*, vilified all his *Declarations*, nullified his *Proclamations*, hindered his *Commiſſions*, impriſoned his faithfull *Subjects*, killed his *ſervants*, and at *Edge-hill* and *Nimbury* did all that ever they could, to take away his life; and now by their laſt great *ordinance* for their *counterfeit* Seale, they pronounce all *honours*, *pardons*, *grants* *commiſſions* and whatſoever *els* His Majeſtie paſſeth under *his* Seale, to be *invalid*, *void*, and of none effect; and if this be not to make King *Charles* no King, I know not what it is to be a King: ſo they have unkingd him *ſine ſtrepitu*; and as the Prophet ſaith, *they have ſet up Kings, but not by me; they have made Princes, and I knew it not*; but whom have they made Kings? even *themſelves*, who, in one word, doe, and have now exerciſed all or *moſt* of the *regall* power; and their *Ordinances* ſhall be as firme as any *Statutes*: and what are they, that have thus diſ-robed King *Charles*, and exalted themſelves like the Pope, as if they were ὁ ἀντιχριστος, the great Antichriſt, *above all that are called Gods*? truly none other then king *Pym*, king *Say*, king *Fu-*

How the Rebells have unkingd our King.

Hoſ. 8. 4.

What kings they would have to rule us.

ſtion;

tion; or to say the truth most *truly*, and to call a spade a spade, king *perjurers*, king *murderers*, king *traytors*; and I am sorry that I should joyne so *high* an office, so *sacred* a thing as King to such *wicked* persons, as I have *proved* them to be. And what a *royall exchange* would the Rebells of this kingdome make! just such as the *Israelites* made, when *they turned their glory into the similitude of a Calfe that eateth hay*, and sayd, *these be thy Gods, ô Israel, which brought thee out of the land of Ægypt*; for now, after they have changed their *lawfull* King for *unlawfull* Tyrants, and taken *Jothams* bramble for the cedar of *Lebanon*, the Devills *instruments* for Gods *anointed*, they may *justly* say, these be thy Kings ô *Londoners*, ô Rebells, that brought thee out of a land that *flowed* with milke and hony, out of those houses that were *filled* with all manner of store, into a land of *misery*, into houses of sorrow, that are *filled* with wailings, lamentations, and woes, when we see the *faithfull* City is become an *harlot*, our gold drosse, and our *happinesse* turned to continuall *heavinesse*.

* Which S. Peter never bade us honour.

The Rebels brave exchange.

Psal. 146. 204

Judg. 9. 15.

But, as the *Rutilians*, considering what *fruit* they should reape by that *miserable* warre, wherein they were so farre ingaged, cried out at last,

Scilicet ut Turno contingat regia conjux;
Nos animæ viles, inhumatâ, infletaque turba
Sternamur campis.——

Virgil. Æneid. l. 12.

we undoe our selves, our wives, and our children, to gaine a *wife* for *Turnus*: so our seduced men may say, we *ingage* our selves to die like dogges, that these *rebells* may live like kings, who themselves sit at *ease* while others indure all *woes*, and doe grow *rich* by making all the kingdome *poore*: and therefore, ô *England*, *—quæ tanta licentia furit? —lugebit patria multos*, when as the Apostle saith, *evill men and seducers wax worse & worse, deceiving & being deceived*; for God is not mocked, but *whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reape*; for, though we for our *sins* may justly suffer *these*, and many other *more* miseries; we doe confesse it; yet the whole world may be *assured*, that these *rebells*, the generation of vipers being but the *rod* of Gods fury, to correct the offences of his children,

2 Tim. 3. 13.

Gal. 6. 7.

The Rebells sure to be destroyed.

dren, such *seeds* of wickednesse as they *sow*, can produce none other *harvest*, then ruine and destruction to all these *usurping* kings and traytors, who thinke to *please* God by doing good *service* unto the Devill, and to goe to Heaven for their *good* intention, after they are carried into Hell for their *horrid* Rebellion.

Contemptrix superum, saevaque avidissima caedis, & violenta fuit, scires è sanguine natam.

God Almighty grant them more *grace*, and our King more *care* to beware of them; and, when God doth grant him rest with *David, on every side round about him*, to restore his Bishops and Clergy to their *pristine* station, that when these *bramble* rods are burnt, and these *rebels* fallen, the *King* and the *Bishops* may still stand like *Moses* and *Aaron* to guide and governe Gods people committed to their charge.

2 Sam. 7. 1.

And *thus* I have *shewed* thee, O man, some of the *sacred* rights of *royall* Majesty, *granted* by God in his holy Scriptures, *practised* by Kings from the beginning of the world, *yielded* by all nations, that had none other guide, but the *light* of nature to direct them; I have *also* shewed thee how the *people*, greedy of liberty and licentiousnesse, have like the true children of old *Adam*, that could not long endure the *sweet* yoke of his Creator, *strived* and strugled to withdraw their necks from that subjection (which their *condition* required, and their *frowardnesse* necessitated to be imposed upon them) and thereby have either *graciously* gained such love and favour from many *pious* and most clement Princes, as for the *sweetning* of their well *merited* subjection, to grant them many *immunities* and priviledges, or have most *rebellionsly* incroached upon these rights of Kings, wresting many *liberties* out of the hands of government, and *forcibly* retaining them to their owne advantage, sometimes to the *overthrow* of the royall Government (as *Junius Brutus* and his associates did the *Kings* of *Rome*) sometimes to the *diminution* of the *dimidium*, if not more then *halfe* his right, (as the *Ephori* did to the Kings of *Lacedemon*,) but alwayes to the great *prejudice* of the King, and the greater *mischiefe* to the Common-wealth; because both *reason* and *experience* hath found it alwayes true, that the *regall* government, or Monarchicall State, though it might *sometimes* happen to

prove

prove tyrannicall, is farre more *acceptable* unto God, as being his owne *prime* and proper ordinance, most *agreeable* unto nature, and more *profitable* unto all men, then either the *Aristocraticall* or *Popular* government, either *hath*, or possibly *can* be; for, as it is most true, that *praestat sub malo principe esse, quàm sub nullo*, it is better to live under an *ill* governour, then where there is *no* government; so *praestat sub uno tyranno vivere, quàm sub mille*, it is better to be under the command of *one* tyrant then of a *thousand*, as we are now under these Rebells: who being not *fax Romuli*, the worst of the *Nobility*, but *fax populi*, the dreggs of the *people*, indigent Mechanicks, and their Wives captivated *Citizens*, together with the rabble of seduced *Sectaries*, have so *disloyally* incroached upon the rights of our King, and so *rebellionsly* usurped the same, to the utter *subversion* both of Church and Kingdome, if God himself, who *hath the hearts of all Kings in his hand*, and turneth the same, *whereseever he pleaseth*, had not most graciously *strengthned* his Majesty with a most *singular* and heroick resolution, assisted with *perfect* health from the beginning of their *insurrection* to this very day, to the *admiration* of his enemies, and the exceeding *joy* and comfort of his faithfull Subjects, and with the best *ayde* and furtherance of his chiefest *Nobility*, of all his learned and religious *Clergy*, his grave and honest *Lawyers*, and the truly worthy *Gentry* of his whole Kingdome, to withstand their most *treacherous*, impious, barbarous, and I know not how to expresse the *wickednesse* of their most horrid attempts: so thou hast before thee *life* and *death*, fire and water, good and evill.

And therefore, I hope that this will *move* us (which have our eyes open, to behold the *great* blessings, and the *many* almost miraculous deliverances and favours of God unto his Majesty, and to consider the most *horrible* destruction that this warre hath brought upon us) to *feare* God and to *honour* our King, to *hate* the Rebells and to *love* all loyall Subjects; to doe our uttermost endeavour to *quench* this devouring flame, and to that end, with *hand* and *heart*, and with our *fortunes* and with the hazard of our *lives* (which, as our Saviour saith,

Luk. 9. 24. shall be *saved* if they be *lost*) to *assist* his Majesty to *subdue* these Rebels, to *reduce* the Kingdome to its pristine *government*, and the Church to her former *dignity*, that so we may have, through the *mercy* of God, *peace* and plenty, *love* and unity, *faith* and true religion, and all other *happinesse* remaining with us, to the *comfort* of our King and the *glory* of our God, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord; To whom with his father, and the holy spirit, be all *honour*, *thanks*, *praise*, and *dominion* for ever and ever, Amen, Amen.

Iehovæ liberatori.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

FINIS.

